

THE OVERLOOKED EVIDENCE: THE USE OF MUSIC IN
PRODUCTIONS OF *HENRY V* 1859-1916

by

VAL BRODIE

A thesis submitted to the
University of Birmingham
for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Shakespeare Institute
College of Arts and Law
University of Birmingham
June 2013

UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

University of Birmingham Research Archive

e-theses repository

This unpublished thesis/dissertation is copyright of the author and/or third parties. The intellectual property rights of the author or third parties in respect of this work are as defined by The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 or as modified by any successor legislation.

Any use made of information contained in this thesis/dissertation must be in accordance with that legislation and must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the permission of the copyright holder.

ABSTRACT

This thesis uses the joint approaches of theatre research and musicology to reveal the overlooked soundscape of productions of Shakespeare's *Henry V*. The starting point is the earliest surviving score (1859), and it concludes with the fragmentary remains of war-time performances (1916), that were on the cusp of change. The evidence, analysed alongside prompt books and other materials, establishes new insights into theatre practices. It problematises scholarly readings that suggest that productions of *Henry V* were invariably a response to English foreign policy, and challenges the common perception that pictorial realism was the key defining aspect of performance. I argue it is necessary to understand how the play was shaped aurally, physically and emotionally by music; the influence of church, melodrama, militia, musical-comedy, ballet, and opera are located and explored. Ensemble-workshop sessions and keyboard realisation have been central to a developed understanding of the genre. Where the world outside invaded the theatre - especially royal events and war - these are surveyed to understand their impact on the soundscape. This study rebalances the historiography of the play, it reveals the importance of seeking out a forgotten aesthetic, and it demonstrates the need for further scholarly theatre-music studies.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I have been heartened by the willingness of busy people to answer my questions when I visited archives, and to correspond extensively by email, telephone and letter. Amongst them I thank Philippa Bassett, Birmingham University Library; Sarah Batchelor, Royal College of Music Library; Jennifer Brathorde, Library of Congress; Patricia B. Brauner, Co-ordinator of the Centre for Italian Opera Studies, University of Chicago; Russell Burdekin, biographer of George McFarren; Kathleen Collins, Warwickshire County Library, inter-library searching for early opera; George Cockman, biographer of Charles Dalmon; Madeleine Cox, Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive; Nick Cull, Barber Music Library; Paul Cullen, Royal College of Music, Centre for Performance History; Professor William C. Davis, Director, Centre for Civil War Studies, Virginia Tech University; Hilary Davies, City of Westminster Archive Centre; Kristy Davis, Trinity College of Music; Jeanne Dolmetsch, Keeper, Dolmetsch Archive; Ros Edwards, Music Co-ordinator, The Henry Watson Music Library; Francesca Franchi, Royal Opera House Archives; Nicola Gaines, early dance specialist at Royal Ballet School and Royal Academy of Dance; Maren Goltz, Meininger Museum; Tom Kaufman, nineteenth-century regional opera in England; Brian Kurtas, Walnut St., Theatre, Philadelphia; Professor Martin Orkin, University of Haifa; Catherine Preddle, Manchester Arts Library, especially for access to non-archived materials; Niky Rathbone, Birmingham Shakespeare Library; Elena Roberts, Hallé Orchestra archivist; Gertrud Robins for translation; Malcolm Taylor, librarian at English Folk Dance and Song Society; Malcolm Thomas, World War One historian for use of his personal library; Alexander Weatherspoon, Donizetti Society; Peter Williams for correspondence on Vaughan Williams; Georgianna Ziegler, Head of Reference, Folger Library.

Staff at the Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive offered assistance as I began my research, and they later maneuvered the Calvert folio volumes (a two-person job) repeatedly. I thank them all for their encouragement, stamina and patience. I am grateful to Paul Edmondson and the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust for awarding me the first Louis Marder Scholarship to work on Calvert's *Henry V* music manuscripts.

I am indebted to Karin Brown, Librarian at Shakespeare Institute, who used her professional influence with the New York Public Library to obtain the release of a microfilm of Calvert's orchestral score. I was encouraged by Shakespeare Institute research students, especially the late Dr Lizzie Ketterer whose enthusiasm for our subject was boundless. Occasional lecture/workshop sessions with the MA Shakespeare and Theatre students allowed me to explore the music with text. Students in the String Chamber Ensemble and Renaissance Music Group of the Department of Continuing Education at University of Warwick informally performed some vocal and instrumental elements. Delegates to the recent *Shakespeare, Music and Performance Conference* (Shakespeare's Globe 2-5 May 2013) gave admirable renderings of some of the choral music that had brought some nineteenth-century *Henry V* scenes to a close.

Special thanks to fellow researcher and friend Linda Hopkins who has shared discussion and given unstinting support throughout, and my husband Ian Brodie both for his insight and understanding of the process, his enthusiasm when sharing visits to archives around the country, and unstinting practical support and loving care.

Finally I thank the friendly, learned and supportive staff of the Shakespeare Institute both present and recent, especially Professor Kate McLuskie for her positive encouragement, and my patient and inspirational supervisor, Dr Cath Alexander, without both of whom I would not have contemplated even beginning the project.

CONTENTS

List of music examples

List of illustrations

Prologue	‘The Play call’d <i>Harry the fifth</i> ’	1
Chapter One	Actor managers: their theatre-music practices	7
Chapter Two	Charles Kean’s <i>Henry V</i>	27
Chapter Three	Charles Calvert’s <i>Henry V</i>	107
Chapter Four	The archeological phase	182
Chapter Five	A new reading: fragile soundscapes	235
Coda	The soul of the nation	270
Bibliography:		272
Primary material		273
	Unpublished <i>Henry V</i> music manuscripts	
	Published <i>Henry V</i> performance-related music	
	<i>Henry V</i> prompt books	
	<i>Henry V</i> playbills	
	Opera playbill	
	<i>Henry V</i> programmes	
	Other programmes	
	Charles Calvert ephemera	
Secondary material		279
	Books and Journals	
	Other music	
	Films	

ILLUSTRATIONS

MUSIC EXAMPLES

Preface

Ex. 0. 1 Opening bars *Fill all the Glasses* p. 1

Ex. 0. 2 ‘Love makes a slave’ p. 4

Chapter Two

Ex. 2. 1 Opening of the Overture p. 39

Ex. 2. 2 Trumpet fanfare segueing into ‘Chanson Roland’ p. 41

Ex. 2. 3 ‘Chanson Roland’, Chappell’s *A Collection of National English
Airs* (1838) p. 47

Ex. 2. 4 Clarinet introduction revealing the Chorus p. 48

Ex. 2. 5 *Chanson Roland* on the cue ‘That did affright the air at Agincourt’ p. 51

Ex. 2. 6 End of Act One, additional *Scene 3rd: March on stage* p. 54

Ex. 2. 7 *Melos* on the cue ‘Now sits expectation in the air’ p. 59

Ex. 2. 8 *Melos* as the conspirators receive the bribe from France p. 60

Ex. 2. 9 Four-part brass fanfare for the French in triple time p. 62

Ex. 2. 10 Underscoring ‘Work work your thoughts’ p. 65

Ex. 2. 11 Brass ensemble siege music before Harfleur p. 66

Ex. 2. 12 Orchestral march into Harfleur p. 67

Ex. 2. 13 Pastoral music in the French encampment p. 68

Ex. 2. 14 Military band music in the English camp p. 70

Ex. 2. 15 Dance music as the French play dice before the battle p. 72

Ex. 2. 16 Music for English soldiers praying before the battle p. 74

Ex. 2. 17 Opening of Act Four *Maestoso* march p. 76

Ex. 2. 18 Brass fanfares on St Crispian’s Day p. 79

Ex. 2. 19 Exit fanfares with trombones p. 80

Ex. 2. 20 A modern edition of *Alta Trinita Beata* identical to Kean’s version
from *Loth to Depart*, ed. by Donald Hughes (1974) p. 81

Ex. 2. 21 Bagpipe music opened the Episode p. 88

Ex. 2. 22 Pipe and tabor – a one man band p. 90

Ex. 2. 23 Full orchestral processional march for the arrival of the king p. 92

Ex. 2. 24 *The Agincourt Song* sung by the boys’ choir p. 93

Ex. 2. 25 *Maestoso* opening to extended celebratory ending of Episode p. 98

Chapter Three

Ex. 3. 1a Original aria ‘Ma negli estremi’	p. 125
Ex. 3. 1b Transcription for orchestra of ‘Ma negli estremi’	p. 126
Ex. 3. 2 ‘Ditty’	p. 130
Ex. 3. 3 Linking passage from <i>Macbeth</i>	p. 131
Ex. 3. 4 Orchestral transcription of ‘Di tua fede bello ognora’	p. 133
Ex. 3. 5 The ‘big tune’ from <i>Parisina</i> signals the departure to France	p. 134
Ex. 3. 6 ‘Il mio pensiero’ from <i>Macbeth</i>	p. 135
Ex. 3. 7 Music before Harfleur	p. 138
Ex. 3. 8 Victory march from <i>Tancredi</i>	p. 139
Ex. 3. 9 Rossini’s ‘Plaudite o Populo’	p. 142
Ex. 3. 10 ‘Dolce conforto’	p. 144
Ex. 3. 11 Novello edition (circa 1944) of glee ‘Who is Sylvia?’ by George MaFarren	p. 148
Ex. 3. 12 Delicate dance music in the Dauphin’s tent	p. 150
Ex. 3. 13 Transcription of the murder duet from Verdi’s <i>Macbeth</i>	p. 154
Ex. 3. 14 Italianate chorus sung after ‘Where n’er from France’	p. 161
Ex. 3. 15 ‘Perle cure perle’	p. 163
Ex. 3. 16 Chorus of thanksgiving: <i>In Exitu</i>	p. 165
Ex. 3. 17 Dainty serenade set the scene for the English lesson	p. 167
Ex. 3. 18 Tender music to frame the wooing scene	p. 168
Ex. 3. 19 Choral music for the ‘grand entry’ of both royal parties	p. 172
Ex. 3. 20 Vocal line of <i>In Exitu</i> ends the Espousal	p. 174

Chapter Four

Ex. 4. 1 Music for the Espousal	p. 192
Ex. 4. 2 <i>Danse Antique</i> published in London (1900)	p. 195
Ex. 4. 3 Soprano solo cued on flute part ‘Au Boire’	p. 208
Ex. 4. 4 Vaughan Williams’ new ending to the play	p. 215
Ex. 4. 5 Only surviving fragment from Martin Harvey’s music	p. 230

ILLUSTRATIONS

Chapter Two

- Fig. 2. 1 Chorus One: Mrs Kean: Clio the Muse of History.
Set design (1859), Folger Library p. 48
- Fig. 2. 2 Chorus Two: Mrs Kean surrounded by clouds.
Set design (1859), Folger Library p. 57
- Fig. 2. 3 Left: Pieter Breugel the Elder, *The Peasant Wedding* detail (1567)
124 x 164 cm oil on panel. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna
Right: Kenneth Macleary, *Major Ross* (1860). Image in Morpeth
Chantry Museum Guide p. 89
- Fig. 2. 4 Will Kemp 'Pipe and Tabor' in *Nine Daies Wonder* (1600) printed by
'E. A for Nicholas Ling' p. 90
- Fig. 2. 5 Anon. Miniature (1451) paper (no size), illustrating Martin le Franc,
Le Champion des Dames. Detail of portative organ.
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris p. 94
- Fig. 2. 6 King Henry entry in the Episode.
Set design (1859), Folger Library p. 95
- Fig. 2. 7 Anon. Lithograph of Carlotta Grisi in *Giselle* (1841)
<www.balletmetorg/backstage/ballet-notes>
[accessed 5 May 2013] p. 97

Chapter Three

- Fig. 3. 1 Henry's entry in the Episode. Set design (1872). Shakespeare
Centre Library and Archive p. 107
- Fig. 3. 2 Anon. Lithograph. Henry in the Episode with dancing girls
London Illustrated News (September 1872) p. 108
- Fig. 3. 3 Anon. Lithograph. 'Barnum's American Museum', New York,
in *Gleason's Pictorial Drawing Room Companion*
(22 January 1853) p. 113
- Fig. 3. 4 Mrs Calvert as Chorus 'Rumour'. Set design (1872). Shakespeare
Centre Library and Archive p. 128
- Fig. 3. 5 Dauphin's pink tent. Set design (1872). Shakespeare Centre Library
and Archive p. 145
- Fig. 3. 6 Calvert's *Battle of Agincourt Tableau*.
Daily Graphic (2 March 1875) p. 157

Fig. 3. 7 William Holman Hunt's *London Bridge on the Night of the Marriage of the Prince and Princess of Wales* (1863-4). Oil on canvass, 65 x 98 cm, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford p. 170

Fig. 3. 9 Cathedral at Troyes. Set Design (1872). Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive p. 171

Fig. 3. 10 George Rignold's *Henry V* programme (1 November 1879), Bristol Theatre Collection p. 179

Chapter Four

Fig. 4. 1 Music cover showing dedication to Richard Mansfield (1900). Library of Congress p. 196

Fig. 4. 2 Cartoon by Bernard Partridge in *Punch* (7 October 1908) p. 217

Fig. 4. 3 Benson's programme cover (Winter season 1914-15). Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive p. 226

Fig. 4. 4 Dalmon's lyrics for Martin Harvey (1916). Bristol Theatre Archive p. 230

Chapter Five

Fig. 5. 1 'West End Audience' from *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, (10 November 1880) p. 237

Fig. 5. 2 Press photographs of the Espousal of Henry and Katherine, *Black and White Budget*, 'Henry V at the Lyceum', (12 and 19 January 1900) p. 253

PROLOGUE
'The Play call'd *Harry the fifth*'

The duet *Fill all the Glasses* appears to be the earliest music from, or related to, a play about Harry or Henry the Fifth to survive. The questions surrounding this setting (Ex. 0.1)¹ exemplify many of the issues related to the tracing and the understanding of the use of music in Shakespearian performance that this thesis addresses.



Ex. 0.1 Opening bars *Fill all the Glasses*

Composed for two-part voices and continuo, and 'Sett by Mr John Eccles', it is preserved in a miscellaneous volume of English songs in the British Library. Nothing is known of the performance history of this piece, assuming there was one. It is housed in the library's rare music manuscript division and consequently separated from script and staging information, where it appears to have remained overlooked by theatre historians, and yet the use of the phrase 'in the Play' suggests a theatrical connection. The fancifully decorative English baroque style and the attribution 'sett by' John Eccles (1668-1735) indicates a composition or adaptation date of around 1690-1710, a dating that paradoxically appears to answer one question but poses more difficulties.

Modern scholars agree that Shakespeare's *Henry V* was not performed at this

¹ John Eccles, 'A Two-part Song in the Play called Harry the Fifth', in *A Collection of the Choicest Songs and Dialogues*, no 52 (London, 1715). British Library, G.151(52).

time and had not been seen on stage between 1605 and 1738.² Pepys saw Betterton playing Orrery's *Henry the Fifth* twice in 1664,³ a reminder that the narrative of the history of performances portraying the medieval king is not clear cut. Eccles was a musician of some eminence, and he was appointed to the king's band in 1694 and created Master of the King's Musick in 1700.⁴ He composed extensively at Drury Lane, and from 1695 was the house composer for the breakaway theatre Lincoln's Inn Fields, where he is known to have written for Shakespearian adaptations including *Troilus and Cressida* and *Hamlet*.⁵ Stylistically the music matches the Lincoln's Inn approach in the era 1695-1705 where, according to Judith Milhous, to counter the lack of machinery 'virtuoso dancers and singers were brought in'.⁶ Much later Betterton produced *The Sequel of Henry IV* around 1721 made of parts of 2 *Henry IV* together with scenes of *Henry V*. The question remains whether Eccles produced this duet for this or an earlier Betterton version of *Henry V*. No day-to-day records from the actor-manager survive and he remains a 'shadowy titan'.⁷ The origins of *Fill all the Glasses* likewise are shrouded.

The other puzzling issue concerns where this two-part instrumentally accompanied setting, a song about drinking and love, would have been found in a play *Harry the Fifth*, whether it is a version of Shakespeare's play or by another. The setting uses a non-Shakespearian lyric and it bears no connection to issues of the plot:

Fill all the Glasses, fill 'em high,
 Drink and defye all pow'r, but Love.
 Wine gives the Slave his Liberty but Love makes a slave of
 Thundering Jove.

² Emma Smith, *Shakespeare in Production: King Henry V* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. xiv.

³ Samuel Pepys, *The Concise Pepys*, ed. by Stuart Sim (Ware: Wordsworth Classics, 1997), p. 300.

⁴ Charles Cudworth, 'Masters of the Musick', *The Musical Times*, vol.107, no 14822 (1966), pp. 676-677.

⁵ Judith Milhous, *Thomas Betterton and the Management of Lincoln's Inn Fields* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1979), p. 100.

⁶ Judith Milhous, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, p. 6 <www.oxforddnb.com> [accessed 6 March 2013]

⁷ Milhous, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, p. 8 [accessed 6 March 2013]

The words were later published in a nineteenth-century ‘songster’ entitled ‘The Songster’s Library and Museum of Mirth’ where, according to Ray Browne, it was attributed to Shakespeare, a typical nineteenth-century misappropriation.⁸ There are many questions posed by the discovery of the manuscript including what caused the original setting of the song to become separated from the text, which year it appeared, and which characters sang it. Also remaining unsolved are the issues of what effect the song created, if inserted into the plot and if so where, or whether it was used as a raunchy interlude between scenes.

The text of *Henry V* does not, on the surface, appear to offer rich scope for varied theatrical music.⁹ Modern scholars generally are agreed that the 1623 folio (F) was set from Shakespeare’s foul papers and the quarto (Q) was a memorial text. Whilst F includes brief song lyrics for the battle-worn Pistol and the Boy (3.2.6-18), and fifteen instances of specific military signaling, Q contains only two ‘alarums’.¹⁰ With the exception of ‘Let there be sung *Non Nobis and Te Deum*’, a line in the king’s peroration as the army prepared to leave France (4.8.121), there is no other authorial directive for music within the play. This did not inhibit the actor managers whose music is the subject of this study. Whilst they cut or disregarded Pistol’s song lyrics, and ignored the implicit differences of signals, they inserted frequent brass fanfares and short marches for military and ambassadorial purposes, and punctuated their truncated version of the text with a rich vein of music both vocal and instrumental.

The Eccles duet appears to demonstrate that music and singing have been used to refashion and to make contemporary the stylisation of a version of the play since the

⁸ Ray B. Browne ‘Shakespeare in the Nineteenth-Century Songsters’, in *Shakespeare Quarterly*, vol. 8 (1957), 200-216 (p. 215).

⁹ Taylor, Gary, *Henry V* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998). This edition is used for all page references.

¹⁰ For an analysis of ‘alarums’ and the other original martial directives see: Dessen, Alan C., and Leslie Thomson, *Dictionary of Stage Directions in English Drama, 1580-1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. Whilst Shakespeare's *Henry V* was not revived until 1738, there were two other manifestations of the Agincourt story, but the lyrics of the Eccles duet do not occur either in the text of the 1668 Earl of Orrery's play *The History of Henry the Fifth*,¹¹ or in Aaron Hill's 1723 Shakespearian adaptation of *Henry V*.¹² Where, and when, and in whose version, this vocally virtuosic, extensive and show-stopping baroque setting for two-part voices and instruments was deemed pertinent is unclear from the source material. It seems odd that an eminent composer should write a fashionable song, appropriate for specialist singers to perform 'in the Play', for a text that had not been performed for a century. It opens the door to speculation that a performance took place around 1700, or at least one was planned and musical preparations made.

To discover the flavour of *Fill all the Glasses* a workshop performance was given using accomplished male voices in two parts, accompanied by a typically early English baroque ensemble of flutes, violins, cello and a continuo keyboard 'realisation' of the figured bass.¹³ The insistently repetitive lyrics praise the enjoyment of wine and the senses, and the contrapuntal opening (Ex. 0.1 above) creates a convivial spirit of activity and collective enjoyment. The middle section alternates 'Drink. Drink' between tenor and bass, a vivid depiction of partying. The composer explored the vocal techniques of the singers to spectacular effect (Ex. 0.2). With voices in parallel sixths,



Ex. 0.2 'Love makes a slave' bars 58-62

¹¹ The Earl of Orrery, *The History of Henry the Fifth* (London: Cornmarket, 1969).

¹² Aaron Hill, *Henry V as it was acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane* (London: Cornmarket, 1969).

¹³ John Eccles, *Fill all the Glasses*, workshop rehearsals and informal performance dir. by Val Brodie, Department of Continuing Education, University of Warwick, 15 November 2009.

he *melismatically* (the group of sixteen notes to one syllable) ‘word painted’ the notion of the ‘Thundering’ of Jove. Word painting was a fashionable effect during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when composers made the notes on the page not only *look* like the sound, but in performance the notes also *sounded* like the word. It was a musical form of onomatopoeia. In this case ‘thundering’ looks noisy and the men’s voice inhabit a high aggressive *tessitura*, which thunderously climaxed before a strong cadence. The piece is buoyant throughout, and in its sheer repetitiveness, it evokes well-lubricated drinkers with their minds on sex; in the workshop an exhilarating and vigorous musical portrayal emerged.

The nature of the questions that this ebullient setting poses are central to the search for an historical understanding of theatre music; they embody many of the same issues that underpin this thesis, which focuses on productions from the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century century. To know what, where, when, and why music was imported into a production is to understand more fully how that performance reflected aesthetically the era in which it was performed, in what way the play was adjusted to suit the political climate of the times, and the preoccupations that thrilled and satisfied the audience of that age.¹⁴ These questions are central to this research. Just as a baroque duet about drinking and love, expressed with romping musical vitality, has revealed embellishment of a yet to be located, seventeenth or early eighteenth-century version of *Henry V*, so the detailed exploration and analysis of music from the nineteenth century has uncovered other unexpected attributes grafted on to this history play. Taylor argues that productions of *Henry V* coincided with ‘war, rumours of wars, and attendant military enthusiasms’ and he suggests that the play has been ‘consistently rewritten’ to suit the needs of patriotism.¹⁵ Whilst patriotism has remained an essential

¹⁴ The modern terminology ‘production’ has been used throughout this thesis. Some analysts emulate Victorian writers and employ the term ‘revival’.

¹⁵ Taylor, p. 11.

ingredient, this thesis reveals other attitudes, unrelated to nationhood, that musically reshaped the play. *Fill all the Glasses* appears to be a very early example of music being used to restyle the image of King Henry's medieval campaign. It demonstrates that the theatrical practice of importing music to refashion the character of the play and its central figure, developed on a continuum that began in the late-seventeenth or early-eighteenth centuries; it reached unparalleled proportions during the Victorian and Edwardian eras.

CHAPTER ONE

ACTOR MANAGERS: THEIR THEATRE-MUSIC PRACTICES

‘The past is a different, if not undiscovered country’¹

This research is concerned with memory, perception and misunderstanding, and it is about institutionalised misrepresentation and the absence of engagement in sound. In the recent past, when nineteenth-century theatre history was dissected, the soundscape of performance was generally skimmed over, and in scholarly editions of *Henry V*, for example Andrew Gurr, T. W. Craik, Emma Smith and Gary Taylor, music remains absent from analytical discourse about performance.² In Victorian and Edwardian performance of plays, music was an indispensable ingredient and an expected part of the evening, as regularly deployed as scenery and stage lights; to develop a historiography of these performances without aural engagement is to misrepresent the experience. I am addressing the problem of omission that W. B. Worthen suggests is ‘the failure engrained in all writing about theatre, how performance disappears from time and space, and sometimes disappears into the space between the words themselves’.³ I argue that the problem of silence by commentators on the subject of sound is created in part, but not entirely, because of a lack of a common language. To analyse music technically, or to discuss musical content in anything other than the broadest terms, an understanding or commonality of language, is necessary. Music-making and listening to music is an element of the human condition common to all races, yet discourse about sound creates a language problem; there is barrier between western practitioners (those in receipt of training), and those who lack, or who are unconfident that they possess, such skill. As with a foreign script, or with the intricacies of mathematics, the language prohibits, to a

¹ Thomas Postlewait, *The Cambridge: Introduction to Theatre Historiography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 254.

² Andrew Gurr, *King Henry V* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), Craik, T.W., *King Henry V* (London: Routledge, 2005), Smith (2002), and Taylor (1998).

³ W. B. Worthen, ‘Introduction: Theorizing Practice’ in *Theorizing Practice: Redefining Theatre History*, ed. by W. B. Worthen and Peter Holland (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003), p. 7.

degree unnecessarily, both a general and a specialised discourse.

This research investigates theatre-music practice during a period when it was inexorably entwined with performance in a crowded and complex field of styles, and the failure of general understanding has been created by a lack of discrete studies. Michael Pisani has provided a concise overview, illustrating his subject with manuscript particularity,⁴ but he has pointed out that as yet ‘no comprehensive study exists for nineteenth-century British theatrical music’ equivalent to Roger Fiske’s ‘English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century’.⁵ Not only has no general survey of nineteenth-century theatre music been published, but more specifically, no comprehensive investigation of music in Shakespeare performance in the period has been undertaken. Pointing the way there is a rich vein of studies of theatre music from the early modern period including F. W. Sternfield’s work on song settings,⁶ Andrew Gurr’s exploration of material culture showing the use of musical instruments in play houses,⁷ David Lindley’s exposition of spectacle on the early-modern stage,⁸ and more recently Elizabeth Ketterer’s interrogation of text which explored the functionality of music.⁹ There remains a need for the nineteen- and twentieth-century performance to receive equivalent attention.

Currently scholars including W. B. Worthen, Tracy C. Davis, Peter Holland, Thomas Postlewait, Stephen Orgel and others are engaged in re-evaluating layers of theatre histories to establish ‘ways in which previous assumptions need fundamental questioning and in which a future for the field can be enunciated in modes as yet

⁴ Michael Pisani, ‘Music for the Theatre: Style and Function in Incidental Music’ in *Victorian and Edwardian Theatre*, ed. by Kerry Powell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

⁵ Fiske, Roger, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986).

⁶ F. W. Sternfield, *Music in Shakespearian Tragedy* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963).

⁷ Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearian Stage 1574-1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

⁸ David Lindley, ‘Music, Masque and Meaning in *The Tempest*’ in David Lindley, ed., *The Court Masque* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984).

⁹ Elizabeth Ketterer, ‘*Govern’d by Stops, Aw’e by Dividing Notes in the Functions of Music in the Extant repertory of the Admirals’s Men 1591-1621*’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Birmingham).

undervalued'.¹⁰ I note, with some optimism that Worthen defines 'theatre' as:

the 'comprehensive field of performing arts, including theatre, dance, opera, folk theatre, puppetry, parades, processions, spectacles, festivals, circuses, public conventions, and related performance events'.¹¹

There seems plenty of opportunity for aural engagement to find a place in these discourses but, as yet, little seems to have changed; evidence of soundscape remains obscured and 'as yet undervalued'. There appeared to be a slight change in approach when Tracy C. Davis, discussing 'What are Fairies For', in an essay that challenges the historiography of fairies in nineteenth-century theatre, acknowledged her debt musically to a research assistant, and included one isolated manuscript example.¹² She did not put pressure on the evidence to develop any interior understanding of the genre, despite throughout a peppering of oblique, but unexplored references to music. Even more wearisome, Thomas Postlewait wordily described musical comedy, totally missing the opportunity to demonstrate aurally (or show visually) how George Edwardes, a manager promoting the flashy musical entertainment 'excelled at packaging sex'.¹³ He claimed that his study was 'the kind of theatre history we need to produce',¹⁴ and elsewhere states emphatically 'The quality of the historians's scholarship depends directly upon the quality of the questions being asked',¹⁵ but to interrogate a genre without exploring the nature of it seems to avoid this imperative. All forms of evidence will need to be explored, and new intelligences and understandings will need to be applied by this wave of theorists, if they are to achieve a different historiography that does not embody past omissions.

¹⁰ Peter Holland, 'Series Introduction: Redefining British Theatre History' in *The Performing Century*, ed. by Tracy C. Davis and Peter Holland (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2007), p. xvii.

¹¹ Thomas Postlewait, *The Cambridge Introduction to Theatre Historiography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 2.

¹² Tracy C. Davis, 'What Fairies are For' in *The Performing Century*, p. 54.

¹³ Thomas Postlewait, 'George Edwards and Musical Comedy: the Transformation of London Theatre and Society, 1878-1914' in *The Performing Century*, p. 92.

¹⁴ Postlewait, *The Performing Century*, p. 88.

¹⁵ Postlewait, *The Cambridge Introduction to Theatre Historiography*, p. 2.

Whilst nineteenth- and twentieth-century theatre music has been overlooked in theatre-performance histories, it is also absent in studies of the aesthetics of music, and in standard histories. Leonard B. Meyer, in the 1950s, spoke of music ‘setting up expectations in the listener’.¹⁶ Later scholars such as Robert Witken and Peter Kivy, have developed a discourse of musical aesthetics drawing on psychology and sociology, which is currently being built on by a new wave of musicologists including Patrik N. Juslin and John A. Sloboda.¹⁷ Latterly the interiority of genres from plainsong to *opera seria*, from pop to film music is being investigated, but theatre music again is being lost from the record. In traditional taxonomies, theatre music termed ‘incidental music’ was listed in composers’ biographies, but the development of the genre was not, and still is not, traced in reference books.¹⁸ Theatre composers were disregarded in Grove’s *Dictionary of Music*, published in 1880 in four massive volumes;¹⁹ the theatre composers of that era that I discuss in this study are omitted yet, at the time of publication, all were working in major cities, with reputable companies. Despite this lack of professional recognition of composers and their output, hundreds of instrumentalists and singers during this period earned their living performing with theatre companies in venues large and small and the music was heard by broad swathes of the population across Britain. Postlewait has calculated that around 1900-1910 in London alone 15-20 percent of the city’s employees, from a population of six million, worked in theatre-related

¹⁶ Leonard B. Meyer, *Emotion and Meaning in Music* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press: 1956), p. 14.

¹⁷ Robert Witkin, *The Intelligence of Feeling* (London: Heineman Educational, 1974), Peter Kivy, *Music, Language and Cognition* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2007), and Patrik N. Juslin and John A. Sloboda, eds., *Handbook of Music and Emotion: Theory, Research, and Applications* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

¹⁸ Reference books such as *The Cambridge Music Guide*, ed. by Stanley Sadie and Alison Latham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), and *Oxford Dictionary of Music*, ed. by Michael Kennedy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), do not list theatre music as a discrete genre.

¹⁹ George Grove, *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians by Eminent Writers, English and Foreign*, 4 vols (London: Macmillan, 1880).

employment.²⁰ Many of these were musicians, yet *what* they played, what *function* their music delivered, and what *emotion* it might have generated, has been largely glossed over and forgotten.

I approach this study with the combined skills of a practising musician and musicologist, allied to experience as a student of theatre and performance history. It is a manuscript-based study, and it searches out ways of embracing and interpreting the ephemera that is the evidence of the historiography of music in nineteenth-century Shakespeare performance. In order to develop a robust methodology, this narrow forensic study is limited to one play, *Henry V*, within the period 1859-1916. The research has aimed to find, and bring together, every available complete or partially-complete score, together with all the fragmented remains of scores, parts, choral music and song, and correlate them with the spoken text. It attempts to locate the musical nuances of each performance in the milieu of nineteenth-century Britain; it has found aspects of music-hall, melodrama, church, circus, street performance, musical comedy and opera. Evidence from commentators that sheds a contemporary light on the performance from this period has been sought to increase an understanding of each score. There is a duality of purpose: first to reveal the theatre-music of *Henry V* as it was heard in relation to the text and to consider it in the social milieu in which it was received, and second to discover aspects of performance that can inform theatre history and to note details of custom and practice to serve as research tools for future study.

The range of the research is governed by the earliest music that can be linked specifically to a performance; this is the full and intact orchestral score from Charles Kean's 1859 *Henry V* production at the Royal Princess's Theatre, London and it provides

²⁰ Postlewait, *The Performing Century*, p. 99.

the starting point of this study.²¹ It demonstrates how Kean, and the actor managers who followed him, modified the play through the implantation of music to accommodate a changing roster of audience attitudes and predilections. The complete music of only one other actor manager, Charles Calvert, survives from this era, whose *Henry V* opened in Manchester at the Prince's Theatre in 1872, and transferred, in 1875, to Booth's Theatre, New York. Two Calvert manuscripts exist: a piano setting from the Manchester production,²² and the orchestral score from the restaging in New York.²³ Many *Henry V* music scores, together with sets of orchestral parts, have been destroyed or are lost but small fragments of music from two other productions remain from this era. These are the sections of manuscripts preserved from the *Henry V* productions of Frank Benson at Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon and touring (1897-1916),²⁴ and the miniscule fragmentary evidence from John Martin Harvey's wartime production (1916) at His Majesty's Theatre, London.²⁵ Other (what I define as 'remote') music publications related to the *Henry V* production of Lewis Waller at the Lyceum Theatre, London (1900),²⁶ and Richard Mansfield at the Garden Theatre, New York (1900), have been identified and studied.²⁷ The musical evidence from the productions of Kean, Calvert, Benson, Martin Harvey, Mansfield and Waller have been examined alongside prompt books (where they exist), together with musical references on programmes, playbills and press comment to try to reconstruct the soundscape of each director's production, to develop a greater understanding of theatre-music developments, and to assess and interpret the implications of these findings for theatre history. In addition the

²¹ Charles Kean, *Henry V* (1859), orchestral score. Folger Library, W.b.575.

²² Charles Calvert, *Henry V* (1872), Commemorative Folios, 2 vols. large MSS 72.10. Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive.

²³ Charles Calvert, *Henry V* (1875), orchestral score. New York Public Library, NCP+. 346542.

²⁴ Frank Benson, *Henry V* (1897-1916). Benson Archive 55. Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive.

²⁵ John Martin Harvey, *Henry V* (1916), prompt book and fragments of music. Bristol Theatre Archive, EJE/000062.

²⁶ Raymond Rôze, *Wedding March for Organ...composed for Shakespeare's Henry V* (Boston: Boston Music Company, 1910). British Library, h.2731.q. (33.).

²⁷ Max S. Witt, *Henry V Danse Antique* (London: Joseph Stern, 1900). British Library, h.3282.dd.(71.) and Max S. Witt, *Henry V Dances Antique* (New York: Joseph Stern, 1900). Manuscript Division of Library of Congress, Paul Wiltach Collection of Richard Mansfield Papers, box 1, folder 6.

productions of John Coleman at the Queen's Theatre, London (1876), and Osmond Tearle at Manchester's Theatre Royal (1891 and touring), are also briefly discussed. Both Coleman and Tearle reveal some musical connectivity to the work of Kean and Calvert in their programmes, although no scores, musical fragments or 'remote' evidence has survived from either to quantify these implications.²⁸

The analytical process begins in Chapter Two. It is entirely devoted to the score of Kean's 1859 production, revealing in line by line detail his use of music; where appropriate the music is scrutinised in a Toveyan mode of analysis.²⁹ Linking this analysis to the play, reference has been made to Kean's cuts and partial realignment of the text specifically when it is relevant to the music. Kean cut 1550 lines,³⁰ totally omitting Canterbury and Ely's discussion (I.1), Pistol and company, and the reported death of Falstaff (II.I), the English lesson (III.4) and most of Pistol's scene with the French soldier (IV. 4). He kept the Chorus speeches except the final epilogue.³¹ The additional extra-textual musical event, the Episode that he imposed on to the play after Act Four, is explored in detail. He brought large numbers of singers onto the stage and this affected the shape of the performance, a trend that was to develop in those whose work followed. Broadly Kean's format may be regarded as a template whose influence endured with adjustments, and further extra-textual additions, for over four decades. Kean was meticulous in his visual approach to historical detail and this historicism is partially reflected in his musical style. This remained his unique quality, and so too was his ability fleetingly and succinctly to capture a specific idea or moment in careful use of

²⁸ John Coleman, *Henry V* (1877), programme, Queen's Theatre, London and Osmond Tearle, *Henry V* (1891), programme, Prince's Theatre, Bristol. Both in Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive.

²⁹ Sir Donald Francis Tovey 1875-1940, *Essays in Musical Analysis* (Oxford: Oxford Paperbacks, 1981). Tovey's name is synonymous with careful analysis of musical content and structures. His approach replaced abstract emotive description, and laid the foundation of a systematic thematic and textual analysis.

³⁰ Smith, p. 28.

³¹ For more details of line cuts see: John Russell Brown, 'Introduction' (n. p) to facsimile of Charles Kean, *King Henry Fifth, arranged for representation at The Princess's Theatre* (London: John K. Chapman, 1859), Harvester microfilm 25.

sound.

Chapter Three examines two scores surviving from Calvert's Manchester production and New York transfer. Although clearly influenced by Kean's structure, Calvert evolved a hybrid musical form around the text. Visually Calvert's production began, like that of Kean, in the precise painted townscape of medieval London. The battle scenes in rural France were set against a wild country landscape painted with raw brush strokes, whilst the French interiors were decked out with baroque splendour, and the play ended framed in the detailed gothic magnificence of the cathedral of Troyes. Despite this visual cornucopia of style, Calvert musically unified and suffused the whole in the Romantic era sounds of nationalistically-tinted Italianate nineteenth-century opera.³² Gone is Kean's careful response to the minutiae of the plot. That is replaced by the creative collision of visual realism and naturalism, with the harmonies, melodies and orchestration drawn directly from the artificial world of the operatic stage. I shall argue that the scale of the operatic transcriptions that Calvert added to the production was influential in the eruption of extravagant music that sparkled vividly until the end of the Edwardian era.

Chapter Four explores the shards of *Henry V* music remaining from the late period of Empire, through the Boer War years and Edwardian era, into the early years of World War One. In the absence of complete scores, the process is one of musical archeology. After Calvert, the play gained even more musical glamour and excess in the 1880s -1900s. Some of this stylisation was sustained until World War One, but the conflict created crucial musical changes. I have stepped aside from the music briefly to consider the emotional, social and political pre-war and early-war climate; this is a vast subject but

³² The term 'Romantic' in music applies to a later period of the nineteenth-century than in literature. See Paul Henry Lang, 'Romanticism' in *Music in Western Civilisation* (London: J. M. Dent, 1963), pp. 801-843.

it is one which I have not shied away from in an attempt to understand the background to the war-time productions. Both show a new musical streak of egalitarianism, and scepticism, ambivalence, optimism and a sadness approaching morbidity; this is evidenced in the fragments that remain from this period. These responses were precursors of the twentieth-century debate developed by, amongst others, Gould, Rabkin, Greenblatt, and Dollimore and Sinfield, around the moral content of the play.³³

In conclusion, Chapter Five slices across the era revealing the deployment of the resources of music, and explores the interpretive consequences of what I shall term 'extra-textual musical themes'; it lays to rest the suggestions that performances were solely a response to foreign policy and were totally defined by their pictorial effects. This Chapter reflects on issues that may inform future research, and whilst it acknowledges the fragility of the medium, it offers a view that collaborative studies using theatrical history with musicology offer a new element to the historiography of nineteenth-century performance.

It is worth considering the nature of musical evidence before the analysis begins. The theatrical score in the nineteenth century was hand-written and it remained the property not of the composer but of the actor manager. Usually only one copy was needed, and the likelihood of its survival was slim. Most of the music for Shakespearian productions was not published but was re-copied by hand. The publishing scene, where it occasionally existed, is exemplified by the composition by Sullivan for *The Tempest*.³⁴ This set of pieces was first given a concert performance in London in 1862, bringing the composer instant fame and success. It was successfully used in the theatre, first by

³³ Gerald Gould, 'A New Reading of *Henry V*' *The English Review* 128 (1919), pp. 42-55; Norman Rabkin, 'Either/Or: Responding to Henry', in *William Shakespeare's Henry V*, ed. by Harold Bloom (London: Chelsea House, 1987), pp. 35-59; Stephen Greenblatt, 'Invisible Bullets', in *Political Shakespeare Essays in Cultural Materialism*, pp. 91-110; Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield 'History and Ideology: The Instance of *Henry V*' in *Political Shakespeare Essays in Cultural Materialism*, ed. by Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), pp. 42-46.

³⁴ Sir Arthur Sullivan, *Incidental Music to The Tempest* (London: Chappell, 1891).

Calvert (1864) and it continued to be popular with various actor managers into the twentieth century. Extracts of the original concert music were published immediately for the lucrative domestic market in piano-duet form, but it was thirty years later that the theatre-music score and parts were printed. Most scores did not achieve the success and longevity of use enjoyed by Sullivan's *The Tempest*, so publication never took place. In these instances a single handwritten score was the only complete evidence of the music that accompanied a play; it was easily cast aside or recycled.

The individual parts for each instrumentalist were copied from the score, and without publication, this too allowed for the one set to be destroyed. Successive players marked the parts with details of directorial cuts, changes, and heavily-scrawled practical reminders, both for themselves and for subsequent players using the part, to help the performance progress without a hitch. This vibrant communication by orchestral graffiti, a practice amongst players which continues to the present day, can be an illuminating source of production detail and provides information about the interaction between musicians and the stage. When tattered parts were no longer required, they were usually discarded and not only were the compositions destroyed, but the orchestral evidence of custom and practice was also obliterated. Nineteenth-century *Henry V* scores and parts that are completely lost include those of John Philip Kemble, Charles Macready, Samuel Phelps, Coleman, Tearle, Mansfield, Waller, Ben Greet, and William Poel. Instrumental parts frequently became separated from the scores, and none of Kean's or Calvert's orchestral parts for *Henry V* has been preserved. Pathetically in the Bristol Theatre Collection, two tiny fragments from Martin Harvey's music survive, unconnected to a score, but they tell us something more of the production than the prompt book alone. An archive of scores, relics of the Benson Company repertoire, was presented to the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre by Lady Benson; she crucially included in the gift the remaining fractured, but significant, remnants of parts. Benson's score of

Henry V is fragmentary and the sets of parts incomplete, but they show nevertheless the development of his music over a period of almost twenty years. The instrumental parts are thick with grease, torn, and covered in the scrawling reminders of players, and during nineteen years of constant use replacement parts were made over time; with the destruction of the older copy, information about changing styles and practices has been lost, but there is sufficient to show partially how the productions evolved.³⁵ These parts first ignited my interest in exploring the musical historiography of the play.

My research into Benson's *Henry V* set of parts has revealed music composed by Ralph Vaughan Williams, previously thought to be lost;³⁶ its retrieval uncovers an ending forgotten for a century and exemplifies the tenuous hold that theatre-music historians have on the recent past. Two extraordinary and relatively recent examples of this fragility are exemplified by mid-twentieth-century instances. William Walton's full score from Laurence Olivier's 1944 film *Henry V* was destroyed by Pinewood Studios in the 1950s.³⁷ Olivier ranked Walton's contribution to the film as 'unique', but the important original working manuscript and the detail it may have revealed of the composer's working practices is lost.³⁸ Likewise only a fragmented handful of disconnected manuscript scraps survive of the prestigious Old Vic's 1955 *Henry V* which, starring Richard Burton as the eponymous king, toured the world.³⁹ Nothing of the original Old Vic score by Frederik Marshall remains but these shards give a bathetic illustration of the ephemeral nature of creativity and illustrate why theatre-music research is essential in a search for a valid theatre historiography.

Fragility of the medium has other manifestations. Theatre-music historians look

³⁵ Benson, *Henry V*. Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive.

³⁶ Benson, *Henry V*. Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive.

³⁷ Stewart Craggs, 'Thematic Catalogue', in Michael Kennedy and Stewart Craggs, *The Music of William Walton* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 242.

³⁸ Laurence Olivier, *Confessions of an Actor* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1982), p. 105.

³⁹ Frederik Marshall, *Henry V*, manuscript fragments, Old Vic (1955). Bristol Theatre Collection.

for the material culture of music - the scores and parts – and mourn their loss if they have been destroyed, but the destruction of evidence is also a mental and intellectual process. The impact of music may be denied to future researchers if it is absent from a commentary, omitted in a critical review or literary comment, and unlisted on a programme or playbill. For example, when Adrian Noble staged *Henry V* with the then little-known Kenneth Branagh at Stratford in 1984, there was scant mention in the press reviews of the music, which played a strongly focused meta-theatrical role.⁴⁰ Composed by Howard Blake, whose 1982 film *The Snowman* and song ‘Walking in the Air’ was currently popular,⁴¹ the critics overlooked the nuanced deployment of music which began with a modern-day harpist unwrapping her instrument on stage before accompanying the action domestically, until the off-stage wind-band took over metatheatrically at the Southampton departure. Similarly nineteenth-century columnists and commentators bypassed music. Kean, staging *Henry V* at the climax of his career in 1859, drew attention to the importance of music on his playbills. He advertised ‘to give effect to the music, fifty singers have been engaged’ and included a detailed paragraph in his publicity, yet despite this effort and expense *The Illustrated London News* noted only that the music was productive of ‘fine effects’.⁴² In both centuries generally there is lack of coverage of music in press reports. In the nineteenth-century, columnists paid close attention to the scenery and made mention of the principal actors, and more recently the performances of the latter are subject to dissection and photographed. It is unwise now, as in Victorian times to rely on press comment to give an indication of the aural content of a production, for usually it passes unmentioned.

Generations of literary theatre-history commentators including A.C. Sprague,

⁴⁰ *Henry V*, dir. by Adrian Noble, Royal Shakespeare Theatre, 29 March 1984.

⁴¹ Howard Blake OBE, (b.1938-). The score of *The Snowman* (1982) is based on the book by Raymond Briggs (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1978).

⁴² *The Illustrated London News*, 2 April 1859.

Dutton Cook, Gordon Crosse, J.C.Trewin, and others, by their silence on the aspect of music, have provided a route to oblivion for theatre-music composers and to misunderstanding by later readers.⁴³ In the only biography to be written about Kean, author John William Cole made no mention throughout the two volumes of the actor-manager's use of music.⁴⁴ The biography was published in 1859, immediately after *Henry V* concluded its triumphal season, and in it Cole began a tradition that created an appreciation of Kean as essentially a visual artist. More helpfully, two biographies of Richard Mansfield make tantalising reference to music being part of his productions, although his *Henry V* music is lost.⁴⁵ The wives of actor managers have proved a fertile source of reference to music with a few memories from Mrs Charles Calvert,⁴⁶ extended comment from Constance Benson,⁴⁷ and some correspondence of Mrs Charles Kean,⁴⁸ all providing insights.

A number of theatre historians in the latter decades of the twentieth century have characterised performances from the Victorian and Edwardian eras, and productions of *Henry V* in particular, as examples of pictorial realism. Typically, Michael R. Booth views Kean's approach as an extension of Charles Macready's who saw the value of spectacle 'as a means of historical illustration ... and as pictorial expansion of the text'.⁴⁹ Macready, in his 1839 production of *Henry V*, engaged the Royal Academician, Clarkson

⁴³ Arthur Colby Sprague, *Shakespeare's Histories* (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1964); Dutton Cook, *Nights at the Play* (London: Chatto and Windus 1883); Gordon Crosse, *Shakespearean Playgoing: 1890 - 1952* (London: Mowbray, 1953); J. C. Trewin, *Shakespeare on the English Stage: 1900 - 1964* (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1964).

⁴⁴ John William Cole, 'Banquet and Testimonial to Charles Kean, F.S.A.' in *The Life and Theatrical Times of Charles Kean, F.R.S.*, 2 vols (London: Richard Bentley, 1859). pp. 342-370.

⁴⁵ Paul Wiltach, *Richard Mansfield: The Man and the Actor* (New York: Chapman Hall, 1908), p. 350.

⁴⁶ William Winter, *Life and Art of Richard Mansfield with Selections from his Letters*, 2 vols (New York: Moffat, 1910).

⁴⁷ Mrs Charles Calvert, *Sixty-eight Years on the Stage* (London: Mills and Boon, 1908), pp. 139-141.

⁴⁸ Constance Benson, *Mainly Players: Bensonian Memories* (London: Thornton Butterworth, 1926).

Practical performance details permeate her writing about the company.

⁴⁹ M. Glen Wilson, 'Edward Saker Revivals and Charles Kean', *Theatre Notebook*, 34 (1979), pp. 9-22 (p.19)

⁴⁹ Michael R. Booth, *Theatre in the Victorian Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 47.

Stansfield, to create a diorama to illustrate the words of the Chorus.⁵⁰ The effect was of ‘an exhibition in themselves ... better historical pictures than any we see at the Royal Academy’.⁵¹ Booth notes nineteenth-century eye witnesses and provides a rigorous appraisal of the genre, but his commentary leaves the reader with the impression that this Victorian spectacular approach consisted of two main ingredients: visual effects linked to text. His analysis leaves the sound and the noise out of the equation although there are several tiny, but significant, snippets of musical information to be found in the eye-witness accounts he quoted; these will be explored in chapter two. My research builds on the visual analysis of Booth and others, and explores the equally dominating sound that assailed both the performers and the audience. It analyses the vocal and instrumental content, and it examines its social, historical and cultural context in an attempt to understand the audience’s aural experience of *Henry V*. It reanimates for the twenty-first century reader the musical experience that accompanied the dynamic visual effects.

Like Booth, Richard W. Schoch appears to be preoccupied by the history of nineteenth century productions as revealed by the visual evidence. Whilst Schoch surveyed an impressive portfolio in the Folger collection of the actor manager’s letters and prompt books, he makes no reference to the archive’s collection of music manuscripts which includes Kean’s *Henry V* full score.⁵² He asserts that it is ‘inconceivable to imagine a nineteenth-century production of Shakespeare as anything other than an animated painting’ and illuminates his point with the scenic design of Henry seated on a white horse centre stage on his arrival back in London (see Chapter Two, Fig.

⁵⁰ Charles Macready (1793-1873), *Henry V*, programme (1839), Theatre Royal, Covent Garden.

⁵¹ *The Spectator*, 15 June 1839, p. 558, in Smith, p. 23.

⁵² Richard W. Schoch, *Shakespeare’s Victorian Stage: Performing History in the Theatre of Charles Kean* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 189. In later publications Schoch styles himself ‘Richard Schoch’.

2.6).⁵³ It was a mode of description which emerged immediately following Kean's production. At a dinner held in his honour, Kean was described by the Chairman, before an assembly of arts and political luminaries, as 'a great historical painter' whose theatre productions rivaled 'distinguished professors of the art of painting'.⁵⁴ Kean's successful entrepreneurial skills as actor-manager of the Princess's Theatre, his reputation as a Shakespearian actor, his ability as a director to stage a vast cast, his musical thoroughness in the deployment of fifty singers and the commissioning of a new innovative score, were attributes overshadowed by the accolades of his ability as a 'painter'. Schoch emphasises this same visual approach, but musical analysis reveals that the moment in the play that he chose to illustrate his argument is not merely visual, but is an extended extra-textual action scene of drama, continuously underpinned by music. The music score is needed to indicate what actually happened in the scene for the painting analogy is plainly insufficient; it evokes a contradictory terminology and precludes a wider analysis and exploration of time. A painting implies something of past activity (that the king on a horse has come in procession) but conveys little sense of what developed in the space before his arrival. The picture essentially divulges information captured by the artist about a particular moment. Theatre is a time-based medium and copying life, it portrays events in succession with a sequence of multi-sensory impacts. Scenes accompanied throughout by music, such as the long sequence leading to the entry of Henry on his white horse, regain some measure of a theatrical reality when the sound is recreated, timed and stylistically understood. Schoch's assessment that it is not 'anything other than an animated painting' misses the vital information to be gleaned from a close analysis of the score; without it there is a risk of overlooking the aural and mixed-media quality of the genre. Schoch states:

⁵³ Richard W. Schoch, 'Pictorial Shakespeare' in *Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare on Stage*, ed. by Stanley Wells and Sarah Stanton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 70.

⁵⁴ John William Cole, II, p. 366.

I use Kean's restaging of Shakespeare ... to address broader issues in the dense interlacings of performance, history, and politics in mid-Victorian Britain. Such a cultural analysis is accomplished, nonetheless, by a close reading of the traditional primary and secondary sources of theatre history: prompt book, scenic designs, costume sketches, photographs, engravings, programs [sic], letters, and newspaper and periodical reviews [to disclose] the centrality of a neglected tradition of the theatrical performance in Victorian cultural methodology.⁵⁵

Schoch's approach is one of 'reading' primary sources; he has not investigated the score and listened to the evidence. His detailed work at the Folger did not take cognisance of the two hundred and seventy-one page orchestral score of Kean's *Henry V* which may have enriched the 'dense interlacings' that he sought to reveal. To develop a richer understanding of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century 'cultural methodology' the evidence of music manuscripts, material used night after night in the theatre by the actual performers, should be considered alongside as primary evidence.

Exploring the kinetic qualities of pictorial realism Russell Jackson asserts that 'the distinctive theatrical quality of the most successful [Shakespearean] productions was their ability to 'illustrate' the plays'.⁵⁶ He offers this portrait:

A Shakespearean drama, seen at one of the premier theatres of the capital or the great provincial cities between the 1830s and the first years of the twentieth century, would offer a series of convincing and romantic pictures, within which the characters would move in picturesque and appropriate costumes. The events of the play would unfold in a harmonious and well-planned succession, each movement of the plot climaxing in a striking tableau and the *whole welded together with orchestral music* [my italics].⁵⁷

It is this welding material and its effect that is the subject of this research. The music is not limited to orchestral music, and, whilst the phrase 'welded together' suggests a utilitarian approach to the oeuvre, this research has revealed a rich and subtle palette of sounds which reflect both an interpretive purpose, and a desire to entertain, in the populist sense. The music found in *Henry V* between 1859 and 1916 includes vernacular street sounds, bagpipes, intricate of ballet music, sensuality in song and dance, spiritual *a*

⁵⁵ Schoch, *Shakespeare's Victorian Stage*, p. 6.

⁵⁶ Russell Jackson, 'Actor-Managers and the Spectacular' in *Shakespeare: An Illustrated History*, ed. by Jonathan Bate and Russell Jackson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 112.

⁵⁷ Jackson, p. 114.

cappella singing, emotional massed operatic choruses, extended sounds of battle music and cannon, and the cathedral-filling celebratory wedding music. It has revealed old music from earlier centuries, plenty of newly composed fashionable *entre'acte* music, bursts of colouration and underscoring derived from the idiom of melodrama, large quantities of music borrowed from, or copying, other musical forms, especially opera, Victorian drawing-room style serenades, military music in the manner of the nineteenth-century regiments who inhabited English towns, and music of intensity that reflects the coming of World War One.

Some significant but nearly lost details of non-musical theatre history emerge when music manuscripts are studied. For example in both Kean's and Calvert's productions there are extensive extra-textual scenes where the content is not revealed by the scenic design, and which were given nothing more than a title (and no detail) in the prompt book. These scenes are articulated in the conductor's score because they were accompanied by music. The scene length can be fairly accurately calculated from a performance of the music, and the character of an unfolding extra-textual scene is revealed by the tempi, rhythms, melodies, orchestration, and, not least, by the nature of the occasionally added lyrics and style of the songs. This thesis is a technical analysis, revealing how music was used in the shaping and framing of the performance, where it supported and underscored the text, how it gave form to the extra-textual scenes and when it gave voice to unexpected extra-Shakespearian interpolations, and it looks at this style in the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century social context. Recreating the actor manager's choice of song, dance, and instrumental music alongside a reading of the prompt book has been an alliance of musicology and theatre history that has developed a new understanding of performance.

The Victorian and Edwardian era productions of *Henry V*, with interpolated

processions and weddings, echoed the contemporary world outside in the streets where the public witnessed an increasingly visible monarchy. Actual royal events reached a wide public through newspapers, paintings and photographs, and they were staged in the streets, then as now, with an awareness of public appeal. Queen Victoria and her extended family created theatrical events on the streets of London. I shall suggest that equally on the stages of Kean, Calvert, Mansfield, Waller and others, there was what may be termed a 'theatre of monarchy'. Consequently the play was treated by the media in a manner not dissimilar to royal events. Performances of *Henry V* captured the triumph of a favourite monarch and this imposed 'theatre of monarchy' partially changed the central theme of the play from war in France, to the English response to monarchy. Kean, and later Calvert and others, placed the populace on to the stage in the massed crowd scenes and used contemporary fashionable music to capture that parallel world. Henry's triumphs were designed in the idiom of fashionably gothic medievalism but they were addressed musically by Kean, and later directors, in the language of high Victorianism. The actor managers turned to music to fill the gaps where, to them, Shakespeare had failed to write the appropriate text. So where there was no text to reveal the triumphant king surrounded by Londoners, insufficient words to emphasise his piety, no ceremony to romanticise the great state event of the marriage of a king, and no dialogue to reveal the depths of the moral depravity of his enemies, all these events the actor managers filled with music. To ignore these weighty inclusions of music and to recall only the pictorial realism of the set designs is to fail to understand the nature of Victorian and Edwardian performances.

With the total disappearance of many scores, the study has taken cognisance of what will be termed 'remote' musical evidence. These are compositions derived from theatre music but which were not intended for theatrical use in their published form. Frequently items or series of extracts of a current production were arranged for a pianist

or small ensemble and promptly published (as, for example, Sullivan's *The Tempest*) for domestic use. Two such remote single pieces from the 1900 productions of Waller and Mansfield have been analysed as musical evidence in this study. Whilst there is a need to regard remote evidence with circumspection and even scepticism for they are but small and incomplete indicators, in the absence of all else they are of some value. Thousands of such arrangements of theatre music for domestic use, scored for multifarious combinations of instruments and voices, flooded the domestic market, reflecting the enthusiasm of the public for the aural memory of staged performances. The need to value the very existence of remote evidence points to the fragility of the theatre-music genre. Where all other musical evidence from a production has failed to survive, remote publications reveal traces of an artistic endeavour that otherwise has vanished. Even this remote evidence of theatre music has been destroyed as fashions and habits of music-making within the home changed.⁵⁸ Mayer, writing in the 1970s, whilst noting the importance for research of these mass-produced pieces, described searching outlets of Victorian ephemera, second-hand book shops and checking in the stools of old pianos where unwanted nineteenth-century theatre-related music could still be found. These days this supply is more limited.

Mayer pointed to the need to explore fully the soundscape of Victorian productions and underlined its importance stating:

Music entered the nineteenth-century as an established element of theatrical production, as relevant and as necessary as costume or setting ... If we are truly to comprehend their theatre we must acknowledge the significance of music in that theatre, for *if we describe all else and fail to describe music*, [my italics] our description is far from complete.⁵⁹

Four decades after Mayer's exhortation to theatre historians the situation is little different, which brings my focus briefly back to the enigma of *Fill all the Glasses*, and the issues

⁵⁸ Mayer, David, 'Nineteenth Century Theatre Music', in *Theatre Notebook*, 30 (1976) pp. 116-118.

⁵⁹ Mayer, p. 122.

that surround the earliest surviving song from Harry (or maybe Henry) the Fifth. From my examination of the two pages bound into a mixed volume in the British Library, it was not apparent whether the music contained in the two brittle and flimsy pages of manuscript had been used in a theatre in that form, or whether it was what I have termed ‘remote’ music, a piece related to theatrical performance but arranged, set and sold for domestic, concert, or even courtly performance. It was later re-published and therefore it became a ‘remote’ source of evidence of which several slightly differently headed copies survive. A 1740 copy, is oddly titled *Fill all the Glasses by Mr H Purcell (or rather by John Eccles)*,⁶⁰ and the song reappears in 1770 entitled *Love and Wine* suggesting the popularity of the piece.⁶¹ In the title of an undated copy *Fill all your [sic] Glasses in a play called Henry the Fifth* ‘Harry’ has changed to ‘Henry’, seeming to reaffirm the *Henry V* play provenance.⁶² The origins of the Eccles’ duet remain for the moment unresolved, but this three-hundred-year-old Henry-related setting serves to illustrate the vulnerability of music in relation to performance history and underline the purpose of the present study.

⁶⁰ *Fill all the Glasses by Mr H. Purcell (or rather by John Eccles)*, 1740. British Library.

⁶¹ John Eccles, *Love and Wine* (London: R. Falkener, 1770).

⁶² *Fill all your Glasses, in a play called Henry the Fifth*, J[oh]n Eccles (London: Richard Willoughby, n. d.). The Wighton Database, Dundee <www.wighton.sol.co.uk> [accessed 17 April 2012]

CHAPTER TWO

CHARLES KEAN'S *HENRY V* (1859)

'To give effect to the music fifty singers have been engaged'¹

This chapter analyses the soundscape that framed, underscored, elucidated, supplemented and, on occasion replaced, the text of Shakespeare's *Henry V* as it was staged by Charles Kean in 1859 at the Princess's Theatre, London.² It is a scene by scene examination of the complete orchestral score which maps the decisions made by Kean about the aural quality of his production, and it reveals the nature of the sounds that assailed the ears of the audience during the performance. The score, the working tool of the musical director, is examined together with prompt books and the published text of the play, press reports, and the evidence of contemporary commentators. Kean's playbill, where he made extensive detailed claims about his use of music, is examined by way of an introduction to the analysis of the score. The playbill advertised the scope of the music and gave the potential audience a flavour of the musical styles and resources that would be employed. When all signifiers are considered alongside the musical director's original working score, the performances of one hundred and fifty years ago begin to re-acquire an aural reality which reveals a stronger musical dimension than is usually recognised and acknowledged.

There is no previously published analysis based on empirical musicological study of Kean's full score. Stephen Cockett claimed to examine 'the interrelationship between music and the interpolated stage action' in an article 'Music and the Representation of History in Charles Kean's Revival of *Henry V*' that was accompanied by the over-ambitiously titled audio recording: 'Incidental

¹ Charles Kean, *Henry V*, playbills: 28 March 1859, 29 March 1859, 23 May 1859 and 20 June 1859, Shakespeare Birthplace Library and Archive.

² For a full description of the production see Booth, *Victorian Spectacular Theatre*, especially Chapter Two, pp. 31-53.

Music to Charles Kean's Revival of Shakespeare's *Henry V* at the Princess's Theatre London 1859'.³ Cockett believed that Kean's full score had not survived, failing to note that the manuscript is readily available on microfilm from the Folger Library.⁴ Instead of working with primary evidence, Cockett used only 'remote' sources and he offered a digitally-sequenced speculative realisation, a reconstruction based on the short and easy-to-play piano tunes which were published at the time of the production for the domestic market.⁵ Dedicated to Mrs Kean, *The Favorite* [sic] *Airs in Shakespeare's Henry V at the Princess's Theatre London 1859* offered the ingénue pianist twelve melodies. With titles such *King Henry's March*, and *Tune of the Traditional Ballad on the Battle of Agincourt altered to a Quickstep*, these little pieces contain minimal evidence of theatrical deployment and no hint of scoring, cues, or development of the musical material. Given that he believed that the full orchestral score no longer existed, Cockett's statement that his article 'examines the uses and contributions of the *orchestral score*' [my italics] is misleading. Equally spurious is his claim to explore through this (putative) score Kean's stated historical objectives and 'issues about how the actor performed with musical accompaniment [and] functions of the score in shaping the dynamics of stage action' together with the part played by the 'musical idiom, style and mood in mediating audience response'.⁶

All of Cockett's objectives would be worthwhile had he explored genuine primary evidence; his research relies on his hypothesised score. This not only points

³ Stephen Cockett, 'Music and the Representation of History in Charles Kean's Revival of Shakespeare's *Henry V*', *Nineteenth Century Theatre and Film*, 34/1 (2007), pp. 1-14.

⁴ Richard Charteris, *An Annotated Catalogue of Music Manuscripts in the Folger Shakespeare Library* (New York: Pendragon Press, 2005), p. 420.

⁵ Bertram Isaacson, *The Favorite* [sic] *Airs in Shakespeare's King Henry V as Produced at the Royal Princess's Theatre under the Management of Mr Charles Kean* (London: Cramer, Beale and Chappell, 1859).

⁶ Stephen Cockett, 'Abstract' in online preview of: Cockett, *Music and the Representation of History in Charles Kean's Revival of Henry V* <<http://www.ingentaconnect.com/manup/nttf>> [accessed 28 June 2012]

to the folly and danger to genuine academic theatre-music research when such acts of pseudo reconstruction are placed in the public domain with exaggerated claims of historical veracity, but it foregrounds the need to regard remote evidence with careful dispassionate regard; such little flakes of knowledge can be dangerously enticing. The remote evidence mentioned later in this thesis will be regarded with appropriate circumspection. The research for this present chapter avoids this problem by using a copy of the full 1859 orchestral score that was employed nightly in the pit by Kean's musical director.

The scale and historicisation of Kean's musical intentions and the significance that he placed on the choral content is revealed in a paragraph in his large three-fold playbills, and also in his published text of the play.⁷ Not only were costumes, scenery and armaments designed to be historically accurate and what Kean termed 'archeologically' researched, but he was equally eager to emphasise the provenance of the musical sources. The playbill paragraph is quoted here in full and it will serve as a subsequent point of reference throughout this analysis, and later chapters will also allude to the influence of this narrative:

The music, under the direction of Mr Isaacson, has been, in part, selected from such ancient airs as remain to us of, or anterior to, the date of Henry the Fifth, and in part, composed to accord with the same period. The "Song on the Victory of Agincourt", published at the end of Sir Harris Nicholas's interesting narrative, and introduced in the admirable work entitled "Popular Music of the Olden Time", by W.Chappell, F.S.A., is sung by the choristers in the Episode. The "Chanson Roland", to be found in the above-named work, is also given by the entire chorus in the same scene. The Hymn of Thanksgiving, at the end of the fourth act, is supposed to be as old as A.D.1310. To give effect to the music, fifty singers have been engaged.

Kean's potential audience would have learned from the playbill that large-scale vocal effects were a significant element in the production, and that to develop an appropriately weighty sound he had engaged a large chorus of extras. There were tantalising

⁷ Charles Kean, *Henry V* (London: John K. Chapman, 1859), p. vii. This published text of the play is identical to the prompt books and contains, in addition, an introduction by Kean. The prompt books are quoted when additional hand-written information occurs.

references to both ‘choristers’ and ‘the entire chorus’ but, at this stage, it was not fully revealed to playgoers what the performance would involve. With fifty singers complementing the usual army of ‘supers’ no finance appeared to be spared in the musical provision.⁸ Kean lured his audience, in the fashion of the era, with aggressively bold-printed highlights of historically sensational moments: HISTORICAL EPISODE, OLD LONDON BRIDGE, and RECEPTION OF KING HENRY THE FIFTH ON ENTERING LONDON. In justification of these extra-textual scenes Kean’s playbill claimed an educational function for the production:

The introductions made throughout the play are presented less with a view to spectacular effect, than from a desire to render the stage a medium of historical knowledge, as well as an illustration of dramatic poetry. *Accuracy*, not *show*, has been my object.

For a man who was preoccupied with ‘historical knowledge’, Kean’s description of the musical content was ambitious, but ambiguous and inaccurate. Given the harmonic language and scoring, ‘Song on the Victory of Agincourt’, ‘Chanson Roland’ and ‘The Hymn of Thanksgiving’ cannot be dated, as he suggests ‘of, or anterior to’ Agincourt. This study will examine their provenance, for Kean was adventurous and atypical amongst his peers in seeking out ‘ancient airs’ and it will show how the musical director Bertram Isaacson incorporated these early tunes, whilst fulfilling the broader demands of nineteenth-century theatre music.⁹ It was a musical challenge not without its own contradictions. Whilst the compositional and orchestrational style of Isaacson placed the work in the contemporary, commercial theatre arena, Kean created a sense of both novelty and historical colouration by his promised use of ‘ancient airs’. Music was a powerful tool in the work of Kean the business man, the educator and the antiquarian.

Just as Kean was preoccupied with archaeological accuracy in his visual portrayal of historical events, so he appeared to be searching for an appropriate musical

⁸ Jackson outlines the role of the ‘super’ in Bate and Jackson, p. 116.

⁹ No dates have been found for Bertram Isaacson but he was still working as a theatre-music director in 1876.

language with which to colour the story. It is worth noting that Kean predates what today would be called the early music revival. In late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century London, when concerts became part of a public social milieu, audiences were not accustomed to performances including medieval and renaissance music. They expected to hear pieces by contemporary fashionable composers or classical masters including Mozart, and a few familiar tuneful favourites from Purcell and Handel.¹⁰ Whilst Mendelssohn is credited with beginning the early music revival with his resurrection in 1829 of J.S.Bach's *St Matthew Passion*, the enjoyment and exploration of baroque and medieval music, latterly with historicised performance and period instruments, is a twentieth-century phenomenon.¹¹ Typically, music for Victorian serious drama reflected the same preferences as those of the concert-going public as is seen in the headline description from William Charles Macready's *Henry V* playbill in 1839: 'The Overture and Incidental Music partly composed and selected from the works of Purcell, Handel, Weber...by Mr T.Cooke'.¹² The work of Thomas Simpson Cooke (1782-1848), who was music director at Drury Lane and composer of over fifty play scores, appears to typify the approach in the first half of the nineteenth century. The playbill reveals that Cooke selected fashionable music akin to the concert-going repertoire but how he used it within the text remains unknown. No element of the score of Macready's *Henry V* music has survived and archivists at Covent Garden suggest it may have been destroyed in one of many fires at the theatre.¹³ Nearer to Kean's time, Phelps in his 1852 production at Sadler's Wells (played before Queen Victoria at Windsor in 1853) used W.H. Montgomery to compose the overture and 'select' the incidental music, but no details survive on play bills, or the Windsor programme, to

¹⁰ Steven McVeigh, 'The Rage for Music-Concert Life in Eighteenth-century London' in *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn*, ed. by Steven McVeigh (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 72.

¹¹ Stanley Sadie and Alison Latham, *The Cambridge Music Guide* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 305.

¹² William Charles Macready, *Henry V*, playbill, 12 June 1839. Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive.

¹³ Telephone conversation with Francesca Franchi, principal archivist, Royal Opera House Archives, 21 November 2006.

show where or how it was used.¹⁴ Kean changed working practices in theatre music and a discrete play score (he drops the phrase ‘music selected by’) was created for *Henry V*, under his directorial guidance, by Isaacson. This approach was developed generally (although not adopted by all directors), in the second half of the nineteenth century, and it is one in which Kean was at the forefront throughout his Shakespeare productions of 1850-1859. Writing in 1911, Norman O’Neill, a musical director and composer of Victorian theatre music, recalled Kean’s innovative work:

These were, as far as I know, the first productions of modern times in England in which a well-known musician of the day was specially engaged to write special music for a play.¹⁵

O’Neill went on to describe what he called ‘incidental music, entre’actes and interludes’. He reserved for what he termed ‘specially written’ music the accolade of being ‘an essential part of the production’. Much of Isaacson’s music for Kean’s *Henry V* came into this latter category; it was deeply embedded in the creative structure of the production.

The playbills during March reveal that Kean’s *Henry V* was the sole item on the programme.¹⁶ No operetta or burlesque, a fashionable way to open or close an evening of theatrical entertainment in the first half of the nineteenth-century, is mentioned.

Kean’s contemporary, and biographer John William Cole enthused:

The play occupied nearly four hours. No prelude or afterpiece was acted with it at first, but the attention of the audience never wearied for a moment...the introduction of any other would have been an interruption and not a relief.¹⁷

¹⁴ W. May Phelps and John Forbes Robertson, *The Life and Lifework of Samuel Phelps* (London: Sampson Low, 1886), p. 124; Samuel Phelps, *Henry V*, Sadlers Wells playbills: 25 October 1852, 23 October 1858, and 30 October 1858; Samuel Phelps, *Henry V*, programme on lace-effect paper created for the performance at Windsor Castle, 10 November 1853 all at Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive.

¹⁵ Norman O’Neill (1875-1934), Paper to Musical Association, 1911, quoted in Nigel Gardner ‘Introduction to the Music’ in *Henry Irving and the Bells*, ed. by David Mayer (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980), p. 109.

¹⁶ Kean, *Henry V*, playbills 28 March 1859 and 29 March 1859.

¹⁷ John William Cole, *The Life and Times of Charles Kean, F.R.S.*, 2 vols (London: Richard Bentley, 1859), II, p. 346.

Kean's strategy was successful for a while but after about thirty performances of *Henry V* a light-hearted afterpiece, *If the Cap Fits*, was introduced with the eleven-year old Ellen Terry playing the comedic role of 'Tom a tiger'.¹⁸ Kean tried to change his audience and gave them serious drama which stood alone but he had to give way to the popular expectation of a lighter element. He was on the cusp of change; a study of more than fifty earlier *Henry V* playbills from other actor managers indicates that an afterpiece was included on each occasion;¹⁹ for example Kemble's *Henry V* in 1801 included *Don Juan* in the same programme and in 1811 the musical farce *The Highland Reel*, whilst Macready, in 1819, included the popular *Mother Goose* with more detail on the playbill devoted to this pantomime than to the Shakespearian production. After Kean, productions did not use an afterpiece although Coleman in 1876, and George Rignold in 1879, each included a comic piece to precede the play.²⁰ Other long running post-Kean productions by Calvert, Tearle, Benson, Waller, and Mansfield, stood alone.²¹ By textually making fewer cuts than early nineteenth century directors, and musically adding time-consuming additions to scenes, the performance of a Shakespearian play became a long event and a complete entertainment for an evening. Kean's prompt books variously time *Henry V* as five hours twenty minutes,²² and four hours five minutes,²³ differences that may be accounted for by the inclusion of act breaks in the timing.

Two prompt books are used in this study. One is signed 'T.H. Edmunds prompter, Princess's Theatre 1850-1859' and will be referred to as the 'Edmunds

¹⁸ Kean, *Henry V*, playbill, 20 June 1859.

¹⁹ Playbill Collection, *Henry V* 1813-1858. Birmingham Shakespeare Library.

²⁰ Coleman, *Henry V*, programme, (n.d) September 1876 and Rignold, 1 November 1879, both in Bristol Theatre Collection.

²¹ Calvert *Henry V*, programme, 16 September 1872. Manchester Arts Library. Tearle, *Henry V*, programme, 7 September 1891, Benson, *Henry V*, programme, 15 February 1900, and Waller, *Henry V*, programme, 22 December 1900 all in Bristol Theatre Collection. Mansfield, *Henry V*, programme, 3 October 1900. Paul Wiltach Collection of Richard Mansfield's Papers in Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

²² Kean, prompt book, *Henry V* (1859), Harvard Theatre Collection, Reel 011.

²³ Kean, prompt book, *Henry V* (1859), Harvester Microfilm 25 (London: Cornmarket Press, 1971).

prompt book', and the other, from the Harvard Theatre Collection is unsigned, but much annotated, and will be termed the 'Harvard prompt book'.

In the preface (cited above) to his published version of the text of *King Henry The Fifth*, Kean explains the allusion to 'Sir Harris Nicholas's interesting narrative'. Kean had studied the work of Harris Nicholas (1799-1848) who had translated, and in 1827 first published, a transcript of a Latin manuscript which he had found in the British Museum.²⁴ The manuscript was ascribed to a priest present at Agincourt. The medieval cleric claimed that he 'sat on horseback with the other priests, among the baggage, in the rear of the battle'.²⁵ Nicholas's work gave Kean, the antiquarian, validation for his changes. He confidently affirmed that 'We have...the evidence of an eyewitness; and by that testimony I have regulated the general representation of this noble play...especially the introductory episode'. Phrases from the document referring to boy choristers, singing, and dancing girls with timbrels all share the afterlife of Kean's production; they are pertinent to the discussion in later chapters of other directors' work, several of whom equally claimed medieval priestly authenticity.

Cole, Kean's biographer, described some of the new effects and experiments that, prior to *Henry V*, the actor-manager had already attempted. In *Henry VIII*:

He had given festivals, masquerades, processions, and dances, ancient and modern; mythological tableaux and supernatural appearances, unimagined and unattempted by the most gifted of his predecessors.²⁶

Kean, at this stage did not foreground 'ancient' music but a study of the *Henry VIII* score reveals the emotional range that he captured in the incidental music, and later built on.²⁷ It included a 'masque interrupted with Henry's love song to Anne Boleyn', a

²⁴ Harris Nicolas, *History of the Battle of Agincourt: and the expedition of Henry the Fifth into France in 1415* (London: Pickering, Saunders and Ottley, 1827). British Library, Harley Roll 782.

²⁵ Kean, *Henry V*, p.vii.

²⁶ Cole, p. 342.

²⁷ Charles Kean, *Henry VIII*, orchestral score. Folger Library, W.b.567.

sequence entitled ‘Shakespere’s Favorite’ [sic] including ‘Tune and Dances, Wolsey’s Wild, Salinger’s Round, Old Morrice Dance and Lightie Love Ladies’, Duet ‘Orpheus and His Lute’ and a ‘Grand March’. These were published in a commemorative volume of music for piano and two voices dedicated: *To Mrs Charles Kean Overture and Music Incidental to Shakespere’s [sic] Play of Henry VIII Performed at the Royal Princesses Theatre Composed by John L. Hatton*.²⁸ The commercial publication for piano and voices suggests a public enthusiasm for the music of the production of *Henry VIII*, something Kean built on with his advance publicity of *Henry V* four years later, and the subsequent availability of the melodies arranged for piano.

Mrs Kean left a description of the music and dance in her husband’s production of *The Winter’s Tale* (1856) in a letter to the actor manager Edward Saker, which gives an insight into Kean’s experimentation with extra-textual media, and his directorial methodology:

In friendliness let me say *take advantage* of all the lightness of music and dance. Remember the play is a dull one...Can anything be flatter than these four people stalking down the stage to say “goodbye”...[Kean’s] eyes opened to the *opportunity*. “Polixenes is our guest - he is leaving - he would probably have a banquet”. He went to his Greek authorities to see what was done at these Banquets - out of this thought came throughout the play the most wonderful first act - we had six and thirty [dancers]. The music of this act was the Hymn of Apollo presented to Mr Kean by a great antiquary in music and was played throughout all the business of wreathing - and bringing the vines...The third act was a grand effect...the allegory connecting the first three acts with the last two - a marvellous effect...The shepherds dance commenced by Florizel and Perdita - simple and graceful in figure and music - and then the advention [sic] of Pan - with the wonderful wild procession of peasants and maskers with their wild tramp four abreast - to such music as you will not get from any other composer than Hatton...We had two Portland sheep for Perdita’s lambs and a Cirrussian goat from the Zoo Gardens for the festival of Pan...[I descended] from the temple - a great effect - depending greatly on the music.²⁹

She stated ‘All the dances and music [were] composed under the direction of my Husband who read up for the figures and styles’ and offered, for a fee, to let Saker’s

²⁸ John Liptrot Hatton (1809-1886), *Overture and Music Incidental to Shakespere’s [sic] Play of Henry VIII* (London: Campbell and Ransford, circa 1855). British Library.

²⁹ M. Glen Wilson, ‘Edward Saker’s Revivals and Charles Kean: An Addendum’ *Theatre Notebook*, vol.34 (1980), 18-21.

Liverpool staff copy the score.

In *Richard II* (1857) Kean had successfully included a musically structured extra-textual processional scene and he repeated this cumulative time-based effect in his Episode in *Henry V*. Cole unequivocally justified this abundant multimedia approach to staging when he unfolded the nature of Kean's presentation of the Agincourt campaign:

Shakespeare in his glowing scenes has followed the incidents of the great campaign as he found them described in the Chronicles of Holinshed, adorning them with the magic of his own genius. Mr C. Kean has invested Shakespeare with the living identity he *intended to represent*, and may have *dreamed* of as his thoughts looked onwards to futurity, but which in the infancy of stage resources, and *with an uneducated public, he never could have hoped to witness in his days*. [my italics]³⁰

Cole considered Kean's work as the fulfillment of Shakespeare's theatrical dreams; these 'glowing scenes' which used instrumental music, singing, dance and ceremony, extended the emotional experiences of the audience beyond the spoken word. To study the score is to begin to enter into that re-imagined world.

Following Kean's death in 1868 the music score composed by Isaacson (who was to work with other directors on the play in the 1870s) remained in the Kean family ownership. Mrs Kean regarded music as a saleable theatrical commodity together with knowledge of its deployment in the play and other production information. Whether Kean's *Henry V* score had a commercial afterlife has yet to be established; structural similarities in later productions indicate that Kean's influence endured for more than forty years. In 1898 Henry Clay Folger purchased the orchestral score from Kean's estate.

The Folger score is the earliest source of manuscript music for any performance of *Henry V*, by any director, in existence. The front page states: 'The Overture, Entr' Actes and Music to *Henry V*, Composed by B. Isaacson, Royal Princess's Theatre'.

³⁰ Cole, pp. 344-345.

Georgianna Ziegler has pointed out that the watermarking dates the paper to 1858-59,³¹ which suggests that the Folger score is not a later copy but one created before, and specifically for, the production. The composer Isaacson was a long-standing member of Kean's company and throughout the 1850s he was the regular orchestral leader where he played under the musical direction of John Liptrot Hatton.³² Hatton was responsible for all the music of Kean's Shakespeare productions at the Princess's Theatre prior to *Henry V* and it is a major body of theatre music: *Henry VIII*, *Richard II*, *Hamlet*, *A Winter's Tale*, *Macbeth* and *King John*.³³ Isaacson would have been in the pit for the performances, amongst them *Richard II* (1857), when he would have become familiar with the processional musical Episode that opened Act Five.³⁴ Isaacson was to employ similar layers of musical activity and patterning in *Henry V* that he had witnessed when working under the more experienced composer in the company.

The orchestral score of *Henry V* is a unified document written in a single hand and remains intact with no torn or missing pages, amendments, changes, or crossed-out passages. The copyist has clearly written onto the music the textual cues to indicate precisely when the music begins. Whilst no orchestral parts survive, some of the cues can be triangulated with the musical instructions in the prompt books, although in some instances only the score reveals what events happened on stage. Disappointingly, there is little evidence of the musical director's working marks on the score to illuminate the interaction between the pit, the stage and the prompter, but this also indicates that the show, which ran only for three months before Kean's retirement, suffered few changes during that time. My research on other scores including Benson's productions of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1890) and *The Tempest* (1891) has demonstrated that the

³¹ Georgianna Ziegler, Head of Reference, Folger Library, Email: Reference@FOLGER.edu., 18 October 2006.

³² For details of the Kean company structure see Templeman Library, Theatre Collection, University of Kent, UKC/POS/LDN PRS.

³³ Hatton's six scores are available on microfilm from Folger Library, W.b.565-568.

³⁴ Charteris, p. 420.

working annotations not only on the musical director's score, but on the orchestral parts which were nightly used in performance, leave an evolving trail of insights into performance practice detail and changes.³⁵ In Kean's *Henry V* score only a handwritten note, on a loose page in a different handwriting to the writing on the score pages, relating to the proposed lyrics of a song, hints at the working interplay between musical director and actor manager. This scrap of paper will be an important nugget of enquiry later in this study.

When there were no other entertainments on the programme, the evening began with Isaacson's Overture to *Henry V*. Although not a masterpiece in the canon of nineteenth-century overtures, it is a robust composition, operatic in dimensions and lasts about six minutes. The rationale underlying this analysis is to understand, rather than judge or dismiss, what was heard by the audience in order to determine its purpose, and to consider its reception. An overture was integral to the Victorian experience of theatre. It is a matter of debate if the audience always listened attentively, or used the time to find their seats and settle down. The nature of Isaacson's composition, I suggest, provides an indication of audience behaviour and expectation. Operas of this period, often delivered in the same theatres and by the same companies, and sometimes in the same programme as plays, always began with substantial overtures which were separated from the main action by the climax of reiterated cadences, and by a break for applause. From the time of Gluck some opera composers explored a compositional technique that connected the overture to the opera by incorporating important melodic themes associated with key points of the story. Others, including Rossini, recycled the same overture for different operas with apparent indifference to the content or connectivity of the musical material. Typifying the style of the late-eighteenth century, Mozart's overture to *Le Nozze di Figaro* (1786) begins *pianissimo* and, whilst his *Così*

³⁵ Val Brodie, *Music in the Performance of Shakespeare, Stratford-upon-Avon 1886-1916* (unpublished master's dissertation), Shakespeare Institute, University of Birmingham, September 2003.

Fan Tutti (1789) begins *andante* leading to *allegro*, both build to a gathering *crescendo* and dramatic climax. In the early nineteenth century Rossini developed this technique further and stormily whipped up the tempi to an excited pitch in the final bars which demanded applause. Unlike symphonic music of the period which usually did not conclude with the same degree of emphasis, this style of musical ending is associated with theatrical nineteenth-century performance in opera, ballet or high drama. Isaacson, whilst not exhibiting the commanding musical qualities of Gluck, Mozart or Rossini, employed these operatic trends and partially related the music thematically to the coming drama. With its contrasting vigorous sections and a quietly placed significant melodic episode, Isaacson's *Overture to Henry V* suggests that this was not music written to be the background of chatter and movement, but was intended to be received relatively attentively. It employed a secure musical framework that engaged the ear and focused the attention before the visual and spoken elements of the play began. The first page of the Overture (Ex. 2.1) reveals information about the theatre orchestra.



Ex. 2.1 Opening of the Overture

It is composed for a single flute and oboe, and two each of clarinets, bassoons, trumpets, horns, trombones and percussion. The number of strings may be estimated from details of much earlier and later practice. The composition of a typical playhouse orchestra in the eighteenth century varied between twenty and twenty-eight musicians.³⁶ More than a century later, in Henry Irving's company, which during its years at the Lyceum (1878-1902) generally employed a large staff, numbers could be greater. His orchestra around the 1890s is estimated at thirty players on the payroll plus a 'nucleus' of four extra players.³⁷ O'Neill, an experienced late-Victorian theatre music director looking back on his career, suggested that twenty-six players was a 'comparative luxury' and that conductors frequently had to adapt music for about eighteen players which would allow for only single strings.³⁸ O'Neill deplored the practice of having as many wind as string players (signifying that sometimes this was the case), and calls for 4 x 1st violins, 4 x 2nd violins, 3 x violas, 2 x celli, 2 x basses, which with wind and percussion makes a total of about twenty-six players. Whilst not knowing precisely how many players Kean employed, with a basic lineup of fourteen wind and percussion plus strings, the ensemble probably numbered between nineteen and twenty-six players.

With these substantial orchestral forces the *Overture to Henry V* began loudly in a martial 4/4 time in the bright key of D major. Military in rhythm, solidly homophonic with harmonically diatonic chords (I - V7 - I), this opening was well calculated to command the audience's attention from the first four-bar phrase. Isaacson displayed his classical credentials by introducing, at bar twelve, a second theme or subject in the

³⁶ William van Lennep and others, *The London Stage 1660-1800*, 5 vols (Illinois: Southern Illinois Press, 1968), II, p. cxxxvii.

³⁷ Alan Hughes, 'The Lyceum Staff: A Victorian Theatrical Organization', *Theatre Notebook*, 28 (1974), p. 15.

³⁸ Norman O'Neill (1875-1934), *Paper to The Royal Musical Association* in Derek Hudson, *Norman O'Neill: A Life in Music* (London: Quality Press, 1945), p.91. Hudson (O'Neill's son-in-law) states that the composer was on his way to the BBC to conduct his own theatre music for *Henry V* when he was killed in a road accident. His *Henry V* score is not preserved, another example of the fragility of musical evidence.

related dominant key of A major (Ex. 2.2). This melody, marked *piano*, is sonorously scored for violins and cellos plus bassoons and oboes in octaves, and provided an eloquent short contrast before the piece quickly regained the vigour and volume of the opening.

After this formal opening Isaacson introduced a crucial new theme which was to be significant later in the drama. To segue from the martial D major 4/4 section to a G major 3/4 *andante moderato* quiet melody, Isaacson modulated to the flat side using prominent trumpets in a rapidly decelerating fanfare - see line six of the *andante moderato* section. Two bars of fanfare trumpets marked *lento* commanded attention



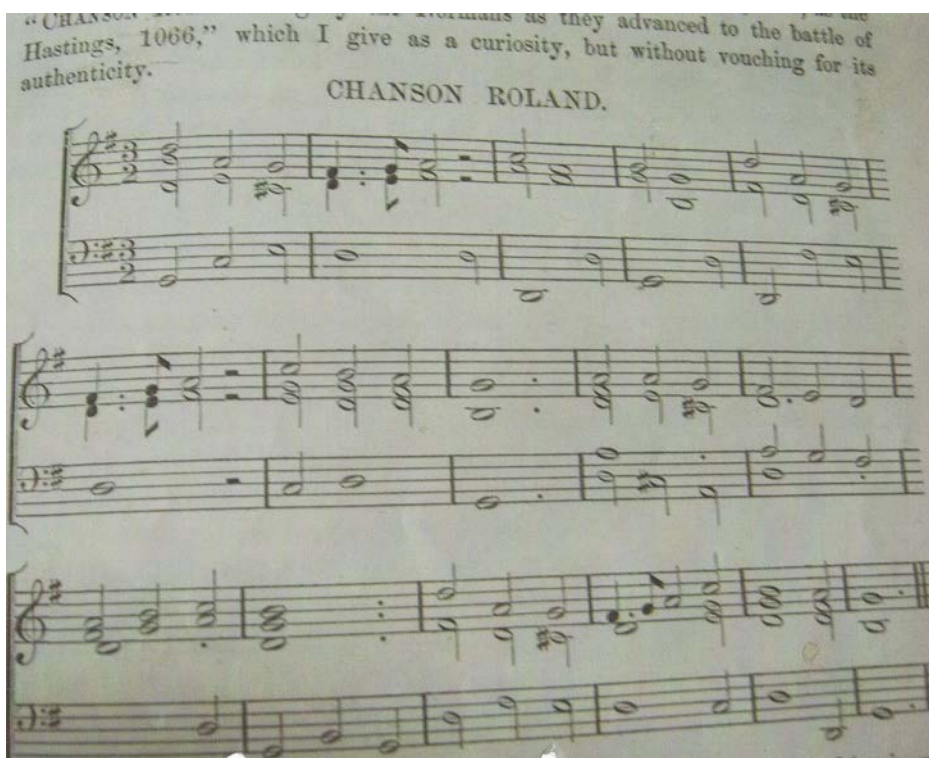
Ex. 2.2 Trumpet fanfare segueing into 'Chanson Roland'

and built on the reiterated D tonic seventh harmony with its crucial C natural, the modulation forced a key change to G major. Unsubtle as this progression and scoring

may seem, this served the theatrical purpose of briefly and boldly introducing the gleam and brilliance of military trumpets which hinted at the battles to come, whilst foregrounding and focusing the ear on a new quietly contrasting theme and the attendant issues of reflection and introversion.

Initially the new theme, the sixteen-bar 'Chanson Roland', was lightly and quietly scored for woodwind with simple diatonic harmonies accompanied by pizzicato strings and tiny hints, on brass, of military bugles calling. It suggests that by this point the audience was settled and listening, otherwise this thematic statement would have been made in vain, for this scoring, by its very quietness and delicacy, drew the listener's attention to the tune. After eight bars it began to build, with added legato string lines, to a tender lyrical ending. 'Chanson Roland' was mentioned in Kean's playbill paragraph where he made claims of its medieval musical provenance; whenever he used the melody interposed in the text it was in association with Agincourt. Kean located 'Chanson Roland' in William Chappell's *Popular Music of Olden Time* (Ex. 2.3).³⁹ Isaacson in his arrangements halved the note lengths of the published version (minim=crotchet) but otherwise it is the same harmonic setting and is retained both in the Overture and later in the incidental music. With solid harmony Chappell's setting displayed no hint of medieval modally-linear writing. The text of Chappell's publication repeated a legend that this chanson was sung by the Norman troops as they advanced at the Battle of Hastings. Chappell gave no source for the melody and added a catch-all phrase: 'I give [it] as a curiosity, but without vouching for its authenticity' excluding the need to develop an historical musical provenance. Kean, the enthusiastic antiquarian, may have been drawn to accepting these origins and also may have recalled another war legend of the epic eleventh-century French poem 'La Chanson Roland' which, in verse, not song, dealt with eighth-century battle and

³⁹ William Chappell, *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, 2 vols (London: Chappell, 1838), I, p. 50.



Ex. 2.3 'Chanson Roland', Chappell's *A Collection of National English Airs* (1838)

defeat.⁴⁰ No evidence has been found of a melodic setting of this poem which was a singularly important milestone in French literature. Both derivations of 'Chanson Roland' relate to battle, and the song appears to develop no other specific connection. Chappell's setting with its wide reaching major key melodic framework and triple time pulse bears none of the compositional qualities of typical medieval music, for example the *Ars Antiqua* and *Ars Nova*, from the Notre Dame School of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which predominated in Europe.⁴¹ The term 'chanson' is normally applied to part songs written using high poetic language which enjoyed a short, highly influential, flowering later at the French court circa 1520-1580, a century after

⁴⁰ *La Chanson Roland*, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 23 (Pt 2). The manuscript was bequeathed to Osney Abbey near Oxford, by Master Henry Langley before his death in 1263.

⁴¹ For a comprehensive illustration and collection of styles see K.G.Fellerer, *Anthology of Music, A Collection of Complete Musical Examples Illustrating the History of Music*, 33 vols (Cologne: Arno Volk Hans Grieg, 1962), VIII.

Agincourt.⁴² The diatonic harmony of 'Chanson Roland' is redolent of European renaissance music, although the melodic structure is not in pure French chanson form. While Kean, in selecting 'Chanson Roland' did not demonstrate a detailed understanding of musical history and style, nevertheless it is an effective second subject in the Overture and is reworked with verve and an effective key change later in the play. It was overambitious of him to state, in his advertising, that this music was anterior to the events in 1415 but he was only two hundred years astray in his affirmation of musical provenance; to a nineteenth-century audience unaccustomed to the pre-baroque era it may well have passed as suitably ancient music.

After the statement of 'Chanson Roland', Isaacson developed a linking bridge passage (twenty-four bars) which, with turgid and animated textures, built with gathering momentum to another substantial *allegro* section. This section of forty bars is melodically different, but similar in stature, to the busy opening section of the Overture and equally unconnected with material used in the play. After this lengthy vigorous section, Isaacson introduced another contrasting theme, a quiet woodwind statement of a traditional melody 'All in a Garden Green' sometimes referred to, with variants of spelling, as 'All in a Green Garden'. This melody is not used later in the play but it seems pertinent to explore why Isaacson and Kean chose to include it in the Overture, to examine what would have been the audience's knowledge of the melody and to consider whether it was still in current usage as a song or dance, or if it was included simply as an ear-pleasing evocation of a by-gone era.

'All in a Garden Green' is not one of the melodies that Kean highlighted in his introduction as 'ancient' so I suspect it was known, yet its roots are in pre-baroque times and there are wide-ranging historical concordances (evidence of popularity) in

⁴² For a detailed exposition of French chanson see Janice Brooks, *Courtly Song in Late Sixteenth-Century France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), especially Chapter Two.

manuscript evidence from different geographical sources. Both as a song and a dance it may be charted from the early modern period, one hundred and fifty years after Agincourt. There are entries in the Stationers' Register from 1565-66 for William Pickering to publish 'A merry new ballad, of a countrye wench and a clowne' entitled 'All in Garden Grene' and several more such applications were granted in 1566-69.⁴³ The Elizabethan court composer William Byrd wrote a set of variations of the same title in a collection that includes many sophisticated keyboard settings of popular melodies such as 'Sellinger's Round' and 'The Hunt is Up'.⁴⁴ Dating from about the same time is the manuscript in the 'Lute Book' of William Ballet,⁴⁵ and a wider geographical distribution of the melody is indicated by 'Unter der Linden grüne', a set of variations by Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck a Dutch composer for the keyboard who popularized English melodies,⁴⁶ and 'Onder de Linde-groene' in a lute collection by Nicolas Vallet.⁴⁷ A versatile melody, it was used for hymns in the 1640s and enjoyed continued usage as a dance melody in the 'English Dancing Master' by John Playford (1623-1686), which ran to nineteen editions during his life.⁴⁸ These numerous occurrences of the melody and the words suggest a wide public knowledge of 'All in a Garden Green' from 1550-1700.

With so many copies in print it is possible that the song and the dance 'All in a Garden Green' lasted for another century and a half, and was enjoyed in Kean's time.

According to early dance specialist Nicola Gaines, Playford-type long-set dances such

⁴³ Claude M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music* (New York: Rutgers University Press, 1966), p. 10.

⁴⁴ William Byrd (1543-1623), 'All in a garden grine' in *My Ladye Nevells Booke of Virginal Music* (unpublished manuscript presented to Lady Nevell of Eridge Castle, in 1591), trans. and ed. by Hilda Andrews (London, 1926), reprinted ed. by Blanche Winogron (New York: Dover, 1969), p. 181.

⁴⁵ William Ballet (dates unknown), *Lute Book 1594* (manuscript in Trinity College Library Dublin), melody quoted in Simpson, p.10.

⁴⁶ Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck (1562-1621), 'Variations: All in a Garden Green' in *Sweelinck Complete Keyboard Works*, ed. by Harald Vogel and Pieter Dirksen, 4 vols (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 2004), IV, pp. 12-14.

⁴⁷ Nicolas Vallet (c.1583-c.1642), 'Onder de Linde-groene' in *Tablature de Luth* (Amsterdam: 1618).

⁴⁸ 'All in a Garden Green', in *John Playford, The English Dancing Master 1651*, ed. by Hugh Mellor and Leslie Bridgewater (London: Dance Books, 1933), p. 71. Based on the British Museum copy and transcribed into modern notation, this 20th century edition is the first since Playford's death in 1686.

as ‘All in a Garden Green’ began to wane in popularity at the beginning of the nineteenth century with the coming of the quadrille (often based on fashionable theatre and opera melodies) and later, in the mid century, with the craze for the waltz, a more intimate form of dancing. Gaines considered that whilst Playford’s ‘All in Garden Green’ would have been an old-fashioned dance it probably was not forgotten by 1859, and she suggested that whilst the dance may not have been in fashionable frequent use as a dance it may, as a traditional tune, also have had musical currency in street ballads.⁴⁹

Street ballads were the early modern equivalent of tabloid newspapers. Conveying breaking news and scurrilous commentary, they were printed and sold in the street with reference often, but not always, to the tune to which the words could be sung. This was a pathway that aurally preserved many familiar tunes as they were passed on but not written down. Malcolm Taylor of the English Folk Dance and Song Society has pointed out that by the mid nineteenth century a number of dedicated collectors of ballads began to publish their findings and these contain references to ‘All in a Garden Green’.⁵⁰ Thomas Wright published it as a folk-song in his *Songs and Ballads* (1860) and earlier Halliwell-Phillipps published the tune in *Westward for Smelts* (1848) calling it an ‘old fidler’s song’ [sic].⁵¹ In the same period Chappell began publishing ballads in settings with piano accompaniment bringing out his first collection in 1839 later running to three editions by 1893.⁵² This is evidence of a public appetite for such settings and it seems reasonable to suggest that some of the audience would have found this traditional English melody, popular since Queen Elizabeth I, a familiar

⁴⁹ I am grateful to Nicola Gaines, early dance specialist at Royal Ballet School and Royal Academy of Dance, for an extended and thoughtful telephone discussion about nineteenth-century perceptions and usage of early dance, 2 Nov 2009. She pointed me to the English Folk Dance and Song Society (EFDSS).

⁵⁰ Malcolm Taylor, librarian at EFDSS in a telephone discussion on ‘All in a Garden Green’ shared invaluable insight into the music of the ballad repertoire, 5 Nov 2009.

⁵¹ Simpson, p. 11.

⁵² William Chappell, *A Collection of National English Airs* (London: Chappell, 1839).

one. The melody, often today called ‘Gathering Peascods’, has survived into folk heritage with a lyric about lovers and leafy glades. With or without the association of these words its inclusion in the Overture to *Henry V* would have communicated a desire to engage happily with the England of earlier centuries and generate a shared familiarity with the past. Isaacson employed the melody of ‘All in a Garden Green’ as a pleasingly lyrical section before an extensively vigorous finale section heralded the ending with broad diatonic cadences, bold brass proclamations, long rolls on timpani and bass drum, and a strongly-stated falling bass chord leading down to a tonic that sounded throughout a broad, extended pause on the last applause-inviting note that ended the Overture to *Henry V* in a typical robust mid nineteenth-century manner.

After the hurly-burly of the Overture yet more music followed before any words of the play were spoken.



Ex. 2.4 Clarinet introduction revealing the Chorus

An elegiac G major triple-time violin melody of romantic simplicity floated over an accompaniment of gentle clarinet arpeggios to take up the curtain, to reveal Mrs Kean, the Chorus, as the delicate serenade grew to a climax (Ex. 2.4).⁵³ The setting was a musically-sensitised introduction for an acclaimed and eloquent performer. Eleanora

⁵³ Here and elsewhere I have given facsimile extracts from the score which, although not of premiere print quality, are I suggest adequately clear for study purposes and give the reader contact with the primary evidence of the original score.

(known as Ellen) Kean, née Tree (1805-1880), was a successful artist performing throughout the British Isles and North America from her debut at Covent Garden aged seventeen until her marriage to Charles Kean in 1842. Thereafter she performed exclusively in partnership with her husband, and became known in the Victorian mode as Mrs Charles Kean. She influenced his acting style which moved towards greater realism and restraint, and during the mid-1850s, when illness kept her from the stage, she assisted her husband in direction, and coaching. Originally a slender figure standing five feet tall, in 1859 by the age of fifty-four, Mrs Kean was quite plump with a penchant, despite Kean's search for antiquarian reality, for contemporary hoop skirts.⁵⁴ With a coronet and full-skirted dress of red, white and blue she was the embodiment of Victorian queenliness, and the crossed lines of her drapery injected hints of the imagery of nationhood and imperialism associated with the union flag. During the mellifluous serenade the audience had time to contemplate this vista of Mrs Kean (Fig. 2.1) positioned high in the clouds within an airy, classical temple.⁵⁵ It distanced her from



Fig. 2.1 Chorus One: Mrs Kean as Clio the Muse of History

⁵⁴ M. Glen Wilson, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* < <http://www.oxforddnb.com> > [accessed 17 June 2010]

⁵⁵ Charles Kean, *Henry V*, set design. Folger Shakespeare Library.

the theatrical climax of the Overture and any following evocation of the military adventure that was to be unfolded.

According to Kean's preface and his playbills, she represented the Chorus as 'Clio the Muse of History', one of the nine daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne who lived on Mount Olympus. Twenty years earlier in 1839 Macready had reinstated the Chorus in the form of 'Time', played by John Vandenhoff stationed on a pedestal, surrounded by cloud and accoutered with scythe and hourglass.⁵⁶ Mrs Kean equally stood outside the plot similarly surrounded by clouds, but she spoke the words with the authority and historical truth of the daughter of a goddess of ancient Greece. Kean was committed to his belief in the educational value of the theatre and the choice of the Muse of History added the aura and gravitas of classical learning. Musically, Isaacson linked Kean's pedagogy to eighteenth-century classical harmonies and instrumentation, foregrounding clarinets in the introduction and accompaniment to the melody. Newly invented, clarinets were fashionably first explored by Mozart in his orchestral and chamber music. The Boehm system of clarinet construction was adopted in the 1840s which allowed the instrument to be played smoothly in all keys, with a three octave range. With a greater range of expression than all other wind instruments by 1859, it was the instrumental choice for beauty of subtle, fashionable, and essentially classical, woodwind expression. In this introductory music, the clarinets bubbling along in a fragrant accompaniment musically underlined the distance of the story-teller from the actuality of the drama. The melodic string line above with its arching shape and chromatically rising, breathy cadences is redolent of the feminised drawing-room music of mid-Victorian England. As the music drew to an elegant heightened ending it introduced the voice of the eloquent Mrs Kean. It was a juxtaposition of visual

⁵⁶ For a discussion of Macready's 1839 use of Chorus and previous cuts of the speeches see Smith, *King Henry V*, p. 22 and pp. 83-87.

signifiers and an environment of sound designed to embrace the audience in an almost sanctified acceptance of the historical truth as it was to be told.

Years later, Ellen Terry, who was trained from a young age by the Keans, recalled Mrs Kean's rounded tones and meticulous approach to purity of speech.⁵⁷ The performance of the Chorus won warm praise in the press and *The Illustrated London News* extolled her performance:

The delivery by Mrs Kean of the descriptions and sentiments - so thoroughly English, so nationally sympathetic - was magnificently and beautifully regulated - an elocutionary bouquet, quite equal to Ristori's happiest efforts.⁵⁸

She may have been pleased with this comparison to Adelaide Ristori (1822-1906), who in the 1850s was highly acclaimed in Paris and London and was spoken of by Theodor Fontane, a contemporary critic, as representing a new *realism* in acting, but she may have been relieved to be compared to the 'happiest' of Ristori's performances.⁵⁹ It was a word probably chosen with some circumspection by the columnist for Ristori's recent 1857 performance of Lady Macbeth in London had seen her turn the role into one of 'forbidden sensual love in the manner of the South' whilst in the title role in Alfieri's *Mirra* she caused a sensation drawing blood from her bosom as she bled to death. Mrs Kean appeared to share some of Ristori's talents for realism in acting but with the classically gracious setting and music to complement her, she offered her audience a 'beautifully regulated' performance. The introductory music rose to a richly orchestrated *ff* climax, with the melody doubled in high strings and cellos, and as it ended Mrs Kean finally 'declaimed' with 'great charm' in a 'really grand manner' the opening lines: 'O for a muse of fire'.⁶⁰ As the stately oration of the speech proceeded

⁵⁷ Ellen Terry, *The Story of My Life* (London: Hutchinson, 1908) especially Chapter One.

⁵⁸ *The Illustrated London News*, 2 April 1859.

⁵⁹ Theodor Fontane (1819-1898), *Shakespeare in London 1855-58*, trans. and ed. by Russell Jackson (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1999), pp. 99-116.

⁶⁰ *The Illustrated London News*, 2 April 1859, vol. xxxiv, no. 967, p. 331.

there was a musical interjection of ‘Chanson Roland’, on the cue line ‘That did affright the air at Agincourt’ (Ex. 2.5). The scoring, unlike the statement of the theme first heard in the overture, is for full orchestra with trumpets emblazoning the texture with brilliant flourishes. Its placing here creates a strong association between the ‘Chanson Roland’ and the battle: a pre-Wagnerian simple use of *leitmotif* to reinforce the centrality of the Agincourt battle. Significant to note is Isaacson’s choice and change of key. In the Overture ‘Chanson Roland’ occurred in the benign key of G major. Here Isaacson selects B flat major, a key unrelated to the introductory music which preceded the speech. The new tonality cut through the safe softness of the G major



Ex. 2.5 *Chanson Roland* on the cue ‘That did affright the air at Agincourt’

clarinet introductory music in a powerful and effective use of key relationships.

Isaacson’s scoring of this interjection pushes high the tessitura of both wind, brass and strings so that all instruments are working hard at tension-laden limits.

Mrs Kean's voice, known for its power, tenderness and refinement,⁶¹ would I suggest, have risen with intensity as her rhetorical question approached the fortissimo interjection:

Can this cockpit hold
The vasty fields of France? Or may we cram
Within this wooden O the very casques
That did affright *the air at Agincourt*? [my italics indicate the music cue]

In a recent student workshop, working on this speech with Kean's music, it was found that the voice needed to broaden and project extensively to drive towards this passage of *fortissimo* trumpet-dominated, vigorous orchestral music.⁶² After discussions and experimentation, emphasis was placed on the hard consonants 'can', 'cockpit', 'vasty', 'cram' and 'casques', and an intensity and richness of resonance was used by each actor. This led effectively into the powerful orchestral sound of the theme music of the battle, 'Chanson Roland', which created an effective climax to the middle of the speech. The evidence of the score and promptbook does not indicate if the music continued under the text which followed, but the workshop experimentation appeared to illustrate that it did not. After various versions of the speech, it appeared neither effective nor possible to declaim the following lines: 'O, pardon ...Piece out our imperfections...For 'tis your thoughts...Admit me Chorus...kindly to judge, our play' (Chorus 15-32) during the loud Agincourt music. At speech's climax each orator had to stop, some letting the name of Agincourt ring on as the brief but overpowering burst of music held the speech in abeyance. The concluding lines of the Chorus speech, with its cadential and rounded phrases, were effective when de-energised in both tessitura and volume, as a new vocal colour and intimacy was found by both a deceleration and an exploration of the softer vowels 'ciphers...imaginary puissance...into an hour-glass...humble patience pray'. The students were able to use the climactic musical interjection as a scaffold for

⁶¹ *The Times*, obituary notice, 21 August 1880.

⁶² MA module, workshop session directed by Val Brodie, *Shakespeare and Theatre*, Shakespeare Institute, University of Birmingham., 10 November 2009.

their interpretations of the speech. It gave the speech a pyramid shape with the word ‘Agincourt’ (line 14) as the climactic moment. This is one of Kean’s infrequent interventions within a speech, and it seems to have been well received for in a rare and specific comment on the musical content of the play *The Illustrated London News* noted that ‘The Chorus was also accompanied with musical intervals, which were frequently productive of very fine effects’.⁶³

There was a short brass fanfare as the clouds rose at the end of the Chorus speech and the lighting came up on Kean’s first scene (1.2), that he set in the King’s Palace at Westminster.⁶⁴ Kean did not discriminate between any signals such as a tucket (a fanfare for an arrival), and or parley (a request or signal for negotiation), but for all military or ceremonial purpose interjections, his composer Isaacson wrote interchangeable fanfares for brass instruments played either singly or in ensemble. This court scene, with its concentrated speeches about the rightness of the cause (the Salic law discussion is included but truncated), the coming of the ambassadors with tennis balls and the King’s decision to wage war, was played with no musical interruption, fanfare or underscoring. The scene ended, as it began, with a military fanfare which led into the second scene (transplanted 2. 3) at Eastcheap. Here Bardolph, Pistol and company made preparations to go to war, the death of Falstaff was recalled and, as distant drums summoned them, they bade farewell to Mistress Quickly. After their exit, Kean ended the text of the scene with the boy’s soliloquy transposed from Act Three: ‘As young as I am, I have observed these three swashers... their villainy goes against my weak stomach’ (3.2.27-51). The prompt book indicates that quiet music in the distance began as he reflected ‘they would have me as familiar with men’s pockets...which makes much against my manhood’ and, as he concluded that he must

⁶³ *The Illustrated London News*, 2 April 1859.

⁶⁴ Harvard prompt book, p. 11.

leave them, the music *forte* took over (Ex. 2.6).⁶⁵

The headings on this music give two directions: '*Drum on stage - at opening*' and '*March on stage*'. Clearly a drummer went on stage at the beginning (perhaps an actor not from the orchestra) but '*March on stage*' as a musical direction probably does not suggest that a dozen or more wind players went onto the stage to accompany the military embarkation but is an indication that in the stage action a 'march' was featured. King Henry's army of supers prior to this moment had not been seen and this was an opportunity to display Kean's militarily abundant casting.



Ex. 2.6 End of Act One, additional *Scene 3rd March on stage*

The music is strong, straight-forward military-band music scored for woodwind, including piccolo, brass and drum in the style that is written to be played on the move. All parts pound out the same drum-like repetitively strong rhythm of the melody; it was music highly suited to marching. Different in idiom, more utilitarian than the orchestral martial music used elsewhere in the production especially for the king, this extensive

⁶⁵ Harvard prompt book, p. 19.

march suggests that some significant military action happened here. Looking at the prompt books it might be deduced that this was merely the exit of one small boy but the music score markings are significant. The march music is marked 'Scene 3rd' (see top left of Ex. 2.6) and, although not indicated in either the Edmunds or Harvard prompt books, the length of the music and the 'drum on stage' indicates an extensive extra-textual musical and visual scene before the soldiers set off to war. Both prompt books state that Act One was followed by an 'act drop' of twenty-four minutes.⁶⁶ The impressive march finale was not merely the exit of one reluctant youth but the amassing and exit of the huge army as they left for France; it displayed Kean's cast of supers and was a buoyant militaristic climax before the long intermission.

Long interruptions to the action were the norm in nineteenth-century theatre, often caused by changes of scenery. Prompters wrote on their copies the timing of such breaks and orchestral players often noted such practical details on their individual parts to remind themselves, and the next player to use the music, what to expect. After Act One, the score shows a substantial through-composed piece which was marked 'Entre Act' (bars 450-635), which lasted about four minutes.⁶⁷ Clearly this was played whilst the curtain was down and occupied some, but not most, of the time of the 'act drop'. Quite what happened in the theatre during an *entre'acte* is not entirely understood by theatre music historians and there is not a clear consensus whether the audience listened or socialised during long intermissions whilst the curtain was down. I suggest in this thesis that on occasion the nature of the music itself indicates if it was the intention of the director that it should be dramatically connected to the play, or if it merely was fashioned as background entertainment. Unlike Isaacson's Overture, this *entre'acte* is not thematically linked to the play although it is a swiftly-moving D major piece in

⁶⁶ Edmunds and Harvard prompt books, p. 19.

⁶⁷ Isaacson used different spellings but most frequently used *entre'acte*. This term will be used in future for consistency although I have not changed it in quotations.

duple time which captures the excitement and tension of military invasion. It is scantily reproduced in the score, with the orchestration of bars 550-590 left unfinished. The facile nature of the music, incomplete in orchestral detail and unconnected to the broad musical themes used in the play, suggests that it was played either as a background to social interaction whilst the audience dispersed after Act One, or was played at the end of the interval as a sign that the performance was resuming, with the busily textured running passage work for strings with wind punctuations designed perhaps to hasten the audience back to their seats. The entre'acte concludes with an emphatically extended cadential section which may have elicited applause and regained attention. What is clear from the score and estimates of the timing of the piece is that it did not occupy all the time of the twenty-four minute act drop. There was plenty of time for the conductor and musicians to leave the pit and take a break in the customary manner, and for the audience to seek refreshment in the way that we do during an interval at the opera or theatre today. Later in the century this time was filled with a programme of orchestral music. I have found no formal use of the term 'interval' at this period and the phrase 'act drop' appears to be a technical phrase used by theatre staff. Kean gave a detailed list of scenes on his playbill, but he gave no indication of the intermissions in the performance, although there is evidence that he was concerned about the length of the breaks between acts. For an early performance his playbill requested: 'The kind Indulgence of the Public ... should any lengthened delay take place between the Acts'.⁶⁸ His later playbills do not include this apology so it may be assumed that the production settled into a swifter routine.

Isaacson's music at the opening of Act Two was composed to recapture the attention of the audience after the break and refocus attention on the stage action. Before the curtain rose, two fanfares for trumpet and horn, marked *moderato martiale*,

⁶⁸ Kean, *Henry V*, playbill, 28 March 1859.

led into a short, thoughtfully-quiet chromatic section for strings (including high tessitura cello in the tenor-clef) and woodwind. In contrast to the *entre'acte*, here was melodic and contrapuntal invention of commanding, but quietly, intensive character. It would have refocused the audience on the serious and dramatic nature of the text. Despite Kean's claims to medieval authenticity, this opening and the other pieces that punctuated Act Two were solidly grounded in nineteenth-century textures and compositional techniques. After these eleven chromatically key-searching bars, whilst the curtains began to rise, the musical mood changed to rushing scales in semiquavers, pierced by holding notes in the wind and string *tremolandi*. This texture created an air of excitement and vigour apposite for Mrs Kean's opening line of the Chorus: 'Now all the youth of England is on fire'. There was a whiff of melodrama in this musical



Fig. 2.2 Chorus Two: Mrs Kean surrounded by clouds.

introduction. To deliver the speech she was 'discovered' again (Fig. 2.2) high in the clouds.

During the Chorus speech there were two musical interjections, typical *melos*, that is short interjections of highly defined mood or character music, a device derived

from popular theatre. Sir Peter Hall, in his preface to *Four Bars of 'Agit'*, a recent publication of original music-manuscript examples of *melos* from Victorian melodrama, noted:

Music has always increased an audience's perception, and made their understanding more acute. Victorian and Edwardian melodrama depended very much on music to sustain the huge popular audiences' attention and to guide them into richer areas of feeling.⁶⁹

This rare collection of music consists of *melos*, composed by Alfred Edward Cooper (1840-1901), includes pieces of an emotional range from *mysterioso* to *furioso* which covered every theatrical eventuality. Each *melos* is between four to sixteen bars long and was intended to define a mood or emotionally colour a character or incident. Cooper's music reveals the previously unpublished working contents of a nineteenth-century theatre-music director's folio. He provided and conducted (or lead from the violin) music for plays and his set of *melos* would have been carried around the country from one job to the next, and the same compositions would have served for different plays.⁷⁰ Often working with a small band without rehearsal, but with the sequence of *melos* worked out prior to the performance, there was a flexibility and an interaction with what happened on stage that predates the conventions of the pianists improvising to fit the action at the silent movies. Larger London theatres commissioned new scores for each new melodrama, and David Mayer and Matthew Scott suggest twenty new *melos* were used in each play.⁷¹ Kean and Isaacson appear to have employed this mode of working, and although they did not turn the play into a melodrama with continuous *melos* defining the action, they created some new *melos* for specific moments in *Henry V* to assist the audience in their response and understanding.

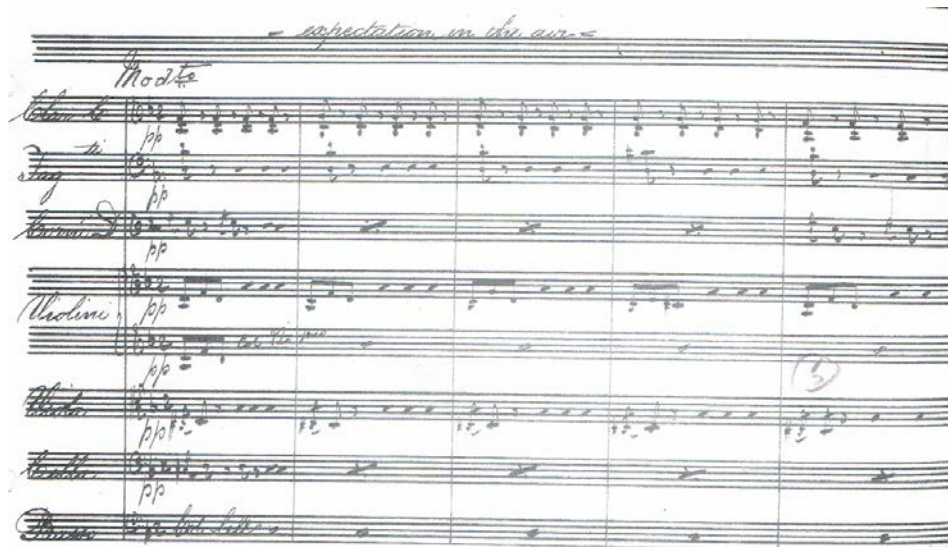
Professionally Isaacson was not only the regular leader of the Princess's theatre

⁶⁹ David Mayer and Matthew Scott, *Four Bars of 'Agit'* (London: Samuel French and Theatre Museum, 1983), p. v.

⁷⁰ Pisani, pp. 70-90.

⁷¹ Mayer and Scott, pp. 17-79.

band but he was an accomplished and well-regarded composer for melodrama. The year prior to *Henry V*, he composed for *Ben the Boatswain*, a melodrama originally dating from 1839,⁷² which was restaged in 1858, by John Douglass. Isaacson's score with its new orchestral *melos* was well received in the press, being 'an example of effective melodramatic composition, the trick of which in this day has almost died out'.⁷³ With daring novelties of staging including the ascent of Madame Amelie Maurice from the back of the stage to the gallery on an electric wire, *Ben the Boatswain* had a successful season, although it was a genre waning in popularity. Isaacson brought to *Henry V* those skills successfully honed in the popular theatre. On the cue: 'Now sits expectation in the air' ten bars of *melos* (Ex. 2.7), with an urgent texture punctuated with menacingly quiet acciaccaturas in the bass, were introduced.



Ex. 2.7 *Melos* on the cue 'Now sits expectation in the air'

Acidic and quiet discords, with a forward urgency created by triplet movement scored low in the violins, created a *melos* which was musically an instant depiction of the malignant fault line and villainy inhabiting England:

O England!-model to thy inward greatness,

⁷² Bertram Isaacson, composer, *Ben the Boatswain*, melodrama, first performance, 25 November 1839, Pavilion Theatre, White Chapel Road, London. Joint Information Systems Committee (JISC) East London Theatre Archive.

⁷³ *The London Illustrated News*, 23 August 1858. Full revival performance details in JISC Archive.

Like little body with a mighty heart,-
 What might's thou do, that honour would thee do,
 Were all they children kind and natural!
 But see thy fault! (Chorus Two 16-20)

Here the *melos* ended as the Chorus unfolded the treachery and the names of the traitors against a silent background:

And by their hands this grace of Kings must die,
 If hell and treason hold their promises,
 Ere he takes ship for France, and in Southampton. (Chorus Two 28-30)

Next a visual representation of the act of treachery: '*back scene opens and discovers a tableau representing the three conspirators receiving the bribe from the emissaries of France*'.⁷⁴ No words are spoken but the tableau depicting the act of treason was accompanied by another unsettling *melos* (Ex. 2.8). The harmony is discordant with upward-leaning augmented fourths, within a very quiet texture of strings and woodwind. The traitors were not merely depicted in the tableau in the act of their



Ex. 2.8 *Melos* as the conspirators receive the bribe from France

crime, but their crime was captured in the music whose intervallic structure of melody is outside the normal diatonic limits of the key. It was a melodramatic act of villainy not

⁷⁴ Kean, *Henry V*, p.24.

merely reported by the text, but acted out and underlined emotionally by agitated discordant *melos*. Kean's audience in 1859 would have understood the portrayal of evil through the linking of music and drama, *melos* with *drama* being at the core of popular melodrama. This use of tableau and musical interjection is one of the few occasions in the score where techniques from melodrama were used. From the speed and texture of these eighteen bars of music accompanying the actions of the traitors, it may be estimated that the traitor tableau interrupted the Chorus narration for about a minute. Kean used music and mime to underline the action for he was unaccustomed, in the mode of the times, to trust the imagination of the audience.

On the cue at the end of the Chorus: 'Unto Southampton do we shift our scene', an extensive military march, in the key of D major, chosen for bold-sounding optimism, took over. It allowed time for Mrs Kean and her background to be replaced by the setting in the Council Chamber of Southampton Castle. Here Exeter, Bedford and Westmoreland, before the King's arrival, questioned the wisdom of the King in apparently trusting the traitors (2.2.1-190). A fanfare of two trumpets, distantly sounded under the stage, heralded the King's arrival before the arraignment of the traitors, and also signaled Henry's subsequent departure. (These cues and later under-the-stage fanfares are noted on the prompt book. The prompter oversaw the signaling with a bell to the musicians when to play.) Kean did not obscure or interrupt Shakespeare's arraignment text with any musical distraction throughout this long, dense dialogue. He was a man of his time who on occasion used the techniques of popular theatre to radiate emotional moments to his audience, but he also knew how to leave the text alone.

The following scene revealed the French King's Palace (2.4.1-146). Brass flourishes, this time played by a more lavish group of four trumpets, marked the French

King's arrival and, following the negotiations with Exeter, the ambassador from England, these musical ceremonials were repeated to end the scene. The French military fanfares were not in the traditional duple-time marching music that evokes the military efficiency associated with *left right! left right!* but were harmonized and composed in triple time - *one two three/ one two three* - a time signature normally associated with dancing. These French fanfares (Ex. 2.9) were a nuanced Anglo-centric commentary on the French military prowess. Isaacson's music subtly previewed the incompetence of the French military regime. Later in the play, before the battle, the French are witnessed complacently contemplating an expected success, and by employing triple time whenever the French King and his courtiers appeared, Kean and



Ex. 2.9 Four-part brass fanfare for the French in triple time

Isaacson implied that they were effete and light hearted in their approach to the conflict, more at ease with dance rhythms than those of marching. Isaacson's music extra-textually belittled the French as opponents.

In the absence of manuscript evidence of earlier music from *Henry V* productions before Kean, it is not clear if Isaacson was building on a tradition by musically distinguishing the English and French. A continuing xenophobic aversion to the French, long after the fear of a Napoleonic invasion had passed, is evidenced by the

preface to the 1831 prompt book from Macready's performance.⁷⁵ Remarks published by 'D.G.' in the preface (Geo. Daniel is handwritten on the cover) indicate the depth of feeling:

The arrogant levity of the French is well contrasted with the temperate firmness of the English army - the one revelling in the vain confidence of victory - the other relying on their own valour, and on the God of battles...The language of the play breathes the purest spirit of devout heroism. What bosom could not beat high with enthusiasm at Henry's noble reply to Westmoreland, on St. Crispin's Day, and glowed with devotional feeling at that glorious prayer, before he rushes into battle.⁷⁶

This preface illustrates that performance values were seen in the early nineteenth century as a theatrical inheritance and it may be that Kean's interpretation of the French with their 'arrogant levity' was part of this heritage. However, unless the music from earlier productions is unearthed it remains uncertain if this delineated musical portrayal of the French was a theatrical inheritance or a development introduced by Kean.

Distinguishing the French by their indolence was particularly apposite in 1859. Relations between the two countries had improved but the situation *vis-à-vis* the French had been a recent source of turbulence between the court and politicians in England, and it led to the fall of Palmerston's government in 1858.⁷⁷ England and France had fought on the same side in the Crimean War (1854-56) and had shared interests in the Far East, but Anglo-French relations were an issue that divided the ruling classes in England. Palmerston and many of his government favoured Louis Napoleon whilst Queen Victoria and her consort sympathised with the exiled French royalty. The government fell when Palmerston attempted to make it illegal to plot foreign assassination on English soil, a measure that gave tacit support to the republican Emperor Napoleon III. This political debacle with Anglo-French relations at its centre would have been fresh in

⁷⁵ Charles Macready, *Henry V*, prompt book, Theatre Royal London (London: John Cumberland, n. d. but '1831' pencilled on the cover), Shakespeare Birthplace Library and Archive.

⁷⁶ Macready, *Henry V*, n. p.

⁷⁷ Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount Palmerston (1784-1865). Continuing Anglo-French political relations are dealt with in Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution 1789 - 1848* and *The Age of Capital 1848 - 1875* (London: Abacus, 2000).

the minds of a London audience the following year when Kean's musical characterisation reflected an enduring antipathy to French aristocrats and the *Ancien Régime*. An audience perhaps including some Palmerston supporters may well have scorned the French courtiers who were portrayed with trippingly fanciful and ornate military flourishes for entrances and exits.

After the French exit, Kean's Act Two continued with the text of the Chorus 'Thus with imagined wings our swift scene flies' transposed from the beginning of the third act. The French music joined the two scenes as Mrs Kean was again discovered on her clouds. During the speech, underscoring began quietly with a persistent rhythm as the Chorus urged: 'Work, work your thoughts' (Ex. 2.10). The voice of Mrs Kean rode above this continuous urgent and intensive *staccato* marching music.

Underscoring, a key aspect of melodrama, was a device also of Victorian high drama and one which Isaacson used occasionally, but effectively, in his score. Commenting on the integral value of music in drama, the editor of *The Stage* in 1887 stated:

The addition of music to a drama which is intended to touch our stronger sentiments is the very wisest way of enhancing the powers of the drama itself...The vital use of music as an adjunct to a play is to increase expectation, enhance apprehension, work upon the sympathies.⁷⁸

Bernard Shaw's critique of a performance of *Hamlet* in 1892 puts the style of the underscoring into historical perspective recalling 'The old fashioned actor...will tell you that certain speeches are easy to speak 'through music' and frightfully hard without it'.⁷⁹ Isaacson's underscoring was designed to allow the voice of Mrs Kean to surge over the excitement of the music, 'work upon the sympathies' and raise the tension:

Work work your thoughts, and therein see a seige
Behold the ordnance on their carriages,
With fatal mouths gaping on girded Harfleur.
... the nimble gunner
With linstock now the devilish cannon touches
And down goes all before them. (Chorus Three 25-33)

⁷⁸'Music in Drama' editorial in *The Stage*, 16 September 1887, quoted in Russell Jackson, *Victorian Theatre* (London: A&C Black, 1989), pp. 204-205.

⁷⁹ George Bernard Shaw, *Music in London 1890-94*, 3 vols (London: Constable, 1932), II, p. 32.



Ex. 2.10 Underscoring 'Work work your thoughts'

Her voice over the music built the audience expectation towards one of the key moments highlighted on Kean's playbill. As alarums sounded, cannons exploded and the Chorus concluded the speech, urging 'Eke out our performance with your mind' followed by a *forte* version of the martial underscoring music. Here the score, in conjunction with the Harvard prompt book, gives a hint of the collaboration between back stage and the pit. The martial music continued 'till all ready below' and the prompter reminded himself: 'then give bell to stop it, commence trumpets for siege'.⁸⁰ With the siege action underway the production moved from choric description to music and enactment: the play bill highlighted 'THE SIEGE OF HARFLEUR, THE WALLS ARE MANNED BY THE FRENCH, THE ENGLISH ARE REPULSED FROM AN ATTACK ON THE BREACH'. As the action commenced, commanding four-part music (Ex. 2.11), played fortissimo by six trumpets, framed King Henry as he entered to deliver his speech: 'Once more unto the breach'. As he headed the charge with his rallying call 'Cry - God for Harry! England! And Saint George!' there was a repeat of

⁸⁰ Harvard prompt book, p. 39.

the brass fanfare and the brilliance of the trumpets was interjected with shouts and



Ex. 2.11 Brass ensemble siege music before Harfleur

alarums, and a roar of the supers and the pounding of feet, as they moved into their attack. Throughout the siege action, Isaacson used rhythmical fanfares created around a single chord of C major. It was harmonically bare with a strong open timbre, and the crisp and square rhythm patterns were performed with the brilliance special to high tessitura brass. The music sliced through the sounds of the action with clarity of purpose that signaled the coming success.

After the siege, despite the weariness of the army with ‘winter coming on, and sickness growing’, the orchestral march which accompanied their entry into Harfleur was one of unmitigated grandeur and majesty (Ex. 2.12). As a musical portrait of military triumphalism, underlining the success of the army after the campaign, this march revealed Isaacson as a master of his craft. A powerful rising melody, weighty brass scoring and a descending strong bass are reinforced with timpani rolls and thick scoring which spans a broad tessitura. This is not utilitarian military-band marching music but it is a broad orchestral moment designed to raise the emotional climate and engage the feelings of the audience in a partisan celebration of the victory at Harfleur.



Ex. 2.12 Orchestral march into Harfleur

The music inhabits the human emotions that the arousal of patriotism, loyal fervour and mass successful action can engender. In 1859 this was an emotional territory of early nineteenth century *opera seria* and heroic escape operas. The extended heightened emotionalism of the music injects an extra-textual passion that glamourised the events and encrusted the stage action with a music-led spectacle. Here was an element of extended, almost real-time, experience that the spoken word cannot easily deliver. It is a long march in *da capo* (ABA) form (that is the music goes back to the beginning and reprises the opening). The choice of *da capo* form holds up the action as the return to the opening (A) section brings familiarity not groundbreaking newness to the ear. It was a form frequently employed by Handel and his contemporaries in grand opera when telling of, and dwelling on, the exploits of totemic figures. Here Isaacson composes in this traditional baroque structure but uses nineteenth-century harmonies and rich post-classical scoring; high flutes cut briskly through rich middle wind parts, the percussion is solid and prominent, and string parts employ thick double-stopping for maximum

velocity. Kean introduced, at this and other key moments, elements of both the style and the aesthetics of both eighteenth-century and contemporary opera. In the following chapters I shall show how Calvert and other nineteenth-century directors of *Henry V* built on this approach.

Whilst Act Two ended in militaristic F major mode, Act Three, set in the French camp, began with elegant curtain music in compound-triple time in the gentler tonality (on the flat side) of B flat major (Ex. 2.13). This key change immediately evoked a new relaxed mood. Once again Isaacson characterised the French with triple time, unconnected to the idiom of military music, choosing compound triple (9/8) a patterning of beats not only with three beats in a bar, but with each beat subdivided into three: */one-two-three- one-two-three- one-two-three*. Compound time-signatures were used by eighteenth-century composers for aristocratic pastoral pastiche effects within operas



Ex 2.13 Pastoral music in the French encampment

and even in courtly concerti such as Vivaldi's *Four Seasons*.⁸¹ Here Vivaldi adds text to his concerti so that his pictorially inspired musical intentions are clear. In *La Primavera (Spring)* Vivaldi portrays the peasant happily sleeping, in triple time 3/4, with his dog snoring by his side and follows with glimpse of pastoral felicity with an

⁸¹ Antonio Vivaldi (1678-1741), *Concerto for Violin, Strings and Basso continuo in E major: La primavera* (Mainz and London: Ernest Eulenburg, 1982), movements II and III.

amorous *Danza pastorale* in compound quadruple time (12/8). In *Henry V*, Isaacson embellished this eighteenth-century signifier of aristocratic amusement and relaxation with nineteenth-century musical form and orchestration. The flute trilled a bird-like accompaniment to a languid melody for oboe which was doubled, with typical romantic-era richness, by high-tessitura cello at the octave, whilst beneath was a swaying delicate accompaniment of strings and wind. The nature of this contentedly relaxed music did not presage seriousness of purpose amongst the French leaders. Kean used this music to underline an interpretation of the French as complacent and not seriously engaged with the reality of war. The curtain rose in the middle of this delicate serenade to reveal the King's room in the French Palace. After an elegant cadence, trumpets sounded a repeat of the triple-time French flourish heard previously in Act Two to announce the entry of the French king and his courtiers. The same flourish was repeated at the end of the scene as the King, in complacent mood, sent for 'word of England's fall'.⁸²

The next scene (3.6.1-171) followed without the interruption of linking music, and was set in a view of Picardy, where in the English camp Gower, Fluellen and Pistol discussed Bardolph's crime. After a while distant quiet military music was heard and a wind band march grew in loudness and force, as King Henry and his entourage arrived. This evocation of an army on the move is an extensive D major march in ternary form with a contrasting middle section in the related dominant key of A major, both keys chosen for strength (Ex. 2.14). The characterisation of the armies by their music is palpable in the juxtaposition of this square, muscular, march that accompanied the English king and the genteel serenade, which opened the French scene. Following a

⁸² Kean, *Henry V*, p. 45.



Ex. 2.14 Military band music in the English camp

dialogue with Mountjoy, 'tell thy King...We would not seek a battle, as we are', the King confided to Gloucester:

We are in Heaven's hand, brother, not in theirs...
 Beyond the river we'll encamp ourselves;
 ...bid them march away.⁸³

The band played for their departure. Isaacson's march, which dominated the beginning and the end of this scene with the English King, is neither orchestral nor operatic in genre but is scored for the standard military band. It is a sound that would have resonated with Victorian audience. The military band sound was part of their limited but regular exposure to organised ensemble music making. In this pre-recording age the most commonly experienced music was piano and voice for home entertainment with occasional instruments added (flute, violin, harp or cello), church singing with organ, and in towns small and large the military band was heard regularly in the street. When the militia arrived the band preceded them, and their presence in the community was significant. There was considerable expansion of bands during the first half of the

⁸³ Kean, *Henry V*, p. 49.

nineteenth century and by 1857 there were one hundred and forty-eight army bands in Britain.⁸⁴ These bands were permanent, organized and capably directed, and they were recipients of state patronage at a time when symphony orchestras and other formal musical ensembles were *ad hoc* organisations. As Trevor Herbert asserts, military bands ‘fulfilled cultural roles that placed them at the centre of musical life. More than [in] any other sphere of music-making [they] played an important part in the articulation of official nationalism’.⁸⁵ Thus Isaacson gave the medieval King Henry a nineteenth-century musical badge of officialdom by using the military band sound for the progress of the King’s army into battle. It was a familiar sound to the audience with contemporary connotations of popular nationalism, but it was one that stylistically strayed, like much of the music used in the play, far from Kean’s stated medievalist intentions.

The musical evidence points to a long break before Kean’s Act Four; it was prefaced by a mini overture marked *Andante Marziale* and would have fulfilled the same purpose as the earlier Overture of re-focusing the attention of the audience after a break. It also musically presaged the drama that was to follow. This short overture has a concerted gentle opening lightly scored which is interrupted by ten bars of an unaccompanied trumpet fanfare; this includes an eerie echo effect, a musical suggestion of the night-time scenes that are to follow. The full orchestra brought the second half of the piece to a powerful climax in martial mood and it ended with a firm, reiterated cadence. This latter section probably accompanied the raising of the curtain. Unusually this is not marked on Isaacson’s score but in the Harvard prompt book, the words of the Chorus: ‘Now entertain conjecture of a time’ are preceded with the directions: ‘Music’ and ‘Chorus discovered’.⁸⁶ The Chorus evoked a vivid picture of the camps as they

⁸⁴ Trevor Herbert, *The Trombone* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 154.

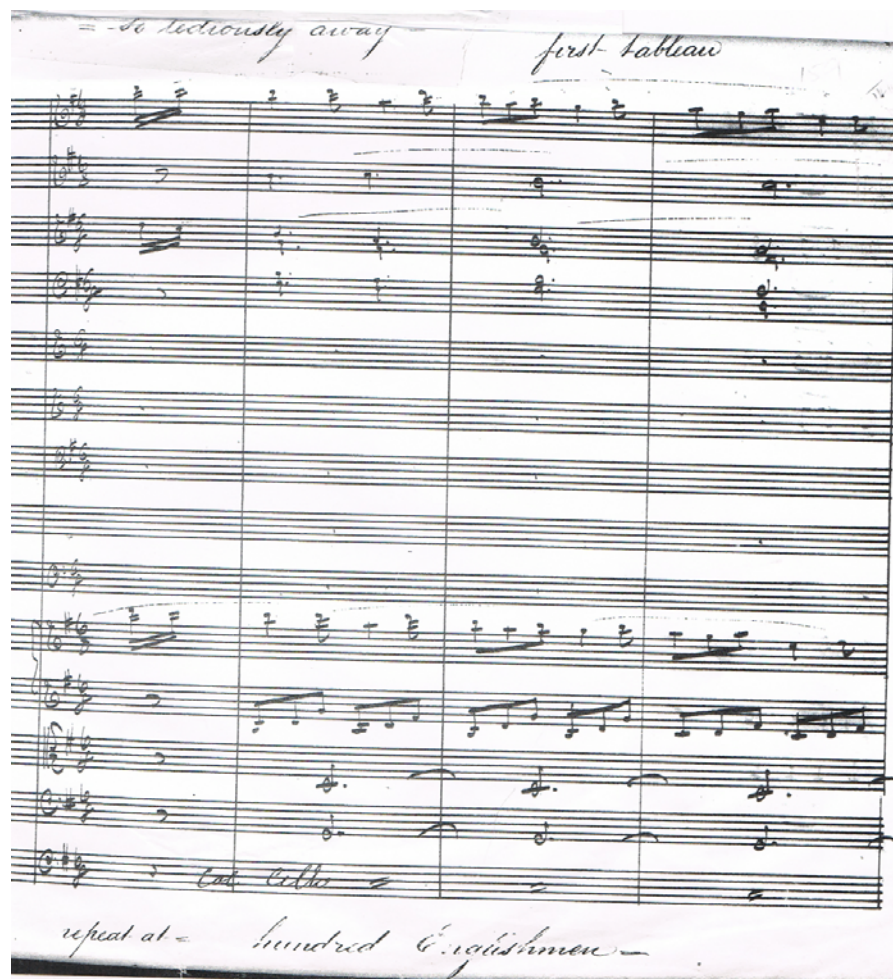
⁸⁵ Herbert, p. 154.

⁸⁶ Harvard prompt book, p. 51.

awaited battle:

From camp to camp, through the foul womb of night
The hum of either army stilly sounds,
That the fix'd sentinels almost receive
The secret whispers of each others watch.

On this occasion Kean did not let the scene ride on the language and Mrs Kean's narrative skill or on the audience's imagination but he interjected two tableaux with *melos* which underscored aurally the difference between the French and English preparations. Following the Chorus description (17-22) of the 'confident and over lusty French' Kean's printed text states: *Scene opens and discovers the interior of a French tent, with the Dauphin, the Constable, Orleans, and others, playing at dice.*⁸⁷ The underscoring is dance music (Ex. 2.15) that is light hearted and skittish. In later



Ex. 2.15 Dance music as the French play dice before the battle

⁸⁷ Kean, *Henry V*, p. 52.

productions directors engaged a dancer to entertain the French courtiers in the pre-battle scene and this tripping 6/8 *Allegro* would appear to be the roots of this trend. Kean inserted a passage of dialogue which he had adapted slightly, and heavily truncated (3.7.79-151) to underline the significance of the scene, and show the French at leisure. To the background of dance music they played dice and the Dauphin disdainfully dismissed their opponents:

Foolish curs, that run winking into the mouth of a Russian bear, and have their heads crushed like rotten apples! You may as well say, that's a valiant flea, that dare eat his breakfast on the lip of a lion.

With more in that vein he concluded 'It is now two o'clock...by ten / We shall have each a hundred Englishmen'. The lights were taken down and the dance music closed the tableau.⁸⁸

A note on a loose sheet of handwriting, left in the score at this precise point, suggests there may have been a song too in this French tableau. The writer of this handwritten note asks: 'if Mr Kean will let us have the words of [the] French Drinking Song'.⁸⁹ There is no trace of any answer from Kean and there are no words of a song on Isaacson's orchestral score. It is feasible that an unaccompanied song was interjected into the tableau but with no instrumental accompaniment there would be no reason for it to feature in the score. There is no reminder to the conductor to wait for the song or other indicators in the score that it occurred. Possibly the French sang along with the melody of the dance music. With repeated dance music and possibly a song, clearly it is the intention to portray the French as making merry on the eve of battle. A drinking song at this point becomes, in later productions, a musical highlight and a time-consuming interruption to the action.

The second tableau followed immediately with Chorus lines, spoken by Mrs

⁸⁸ Edmunds, prompt book, p. 52.

⁸⁹ Kean, *Henry V*, orchestral score, loose page between pp. 160-161.

Kean, indicating that the ‘poor condemned English’, in contrast to the French, were



Ex. 2.16 Music for English soldiers praying before the battle

praying. Kean’s printed stage directions state: ‘Scene reopens, discovering the English camp, with group of soldiery praying. After a pause the scene closes’.⁹⁰ The prayer was appropriately accompanied by a meditative four-part harmonisation of a sombre melody played quietly by clarinets and bassoons; it is hymn-like in quality with orchestration that evoked the sound of a church organ (Ex. 2.16 see above). There is no text for the English troops at this point but this music may have been sung on stage or a prayer intoned; Isaacson habitually did not put the words of choral sections on the orchestral accompaniment. If a French drinking song had preceded it, a hymn from the English would have underlined the difference, but there is only circumstantial evidence of the simple vocal quality of the line to support this suggestion. The Chorus speech concluded without other interruption and it is tempting to imagine Mrs Kean, the Muse of History, eloquently relishing the poetry of the speech, omitting only the two lines (42-43) which tell of the ‘cold fear’ of the English and dwelling on the King whom ‘every wretch/Beholding him, plucks comfort from his looks...A little touch of Harry in the night’ (Chorus 41-47). As the two tableaux in the first part of this speech

⁹⁰ Kean, *Henry V*, p. 53.

demonstrated, Kean as director occasionally adopted the idiom of nineteenth-century popular theatre to reinforce a point, but once again he also knew when to leave Shakespeare's text alone and to let the performance ride on the words.

From the evidence of Kean's prompt books, Act Four began with the entry of the King to the darkened scene of the moonlit English camp, but the score gives more detail and insight. It indicates that a substantial C minor *Maestoso* march of about five minutes duration occurred after the Chorus speech and before the King's appearance (Ex. 2.17). It is a bold movement scored at the opening for the full theatre orchestra with strings and woodwind in unison to a brass and percussion accompaniment. It shows Isaacson to be escalating the emotional climate, the minor key on the flat side creating anxiety and tension, whilst at the same time, the piece created the time to display the movement of an impressively large army on the stage. The forward momentum of the text was not a priority to the composer or audience at such an operatic moment when the emotion and spectacle was paramount. Parallels could be drawn with Rossini's music for the gathering of the cantons in the second act of *William Tell*, an opera that was well known to London audiences, being repeatedly performed there in 1829 (in English), in 1839 (in Italian) and in 1845 (in French).⁹¹ Dennis Forman describes this moment of the gathering of armies in the opera as 'loaded with intense patriotism...gung-ho words of encouragement, on the lines of the night before Agincourt'.⁹² Forman invokes a collective and culturally embedded understanding of the Agincourt spirit to explain this central moment in *William Tell*; it is another nineteenth-century evocation of a medieval story of heroism, loyalty and leadership. Rossini of course expressed the gathering of the cantons in rousing singing; Isaacson, also an opera director, instrumentally created similar images of military power and patriotic virtue with an infusion of musical pomp: strong chords, dotted rhythms, wide

⁹¹ The Earl of Harewood, *Kobbe's Complete Opera Book* (London: Bodley Head, 1992), p. 351.

⁹² Denis Forman, *The Good Opera Guide* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1994), p. 785.

melodies, powerful minor key and strong structure. Perhaps Isaacson's equally



Ex. 17 Opening of Act Four *Maestoso* march

magisterial music was played before the curtain was raised or it may have borne witness to another dramatic assembly and movement on stage of Kean's army of supers but either way, this impressive march set the scene aurally for the victory of Agincourt.

Following the march, the moonlit scene revealed the confines of the English camp where the King borrowed Sir Thomas Erpingham's cloak to tour the camp and, whilst disguised, met Pistol, Bates and company (4.1.1-218). During the dialogue, when the justice of the King's cause was mentioned, several brief trumpet calls were distantly heard from beneath the stage cued by a bell.⁹³ At the end of the soliloquy 'O God of battles! /Steel my soldier's hearts', delivered with 'deeply impressive feeling',⁹⁴ a trumpet sounded on the cue 'More will I do...' when the King determined on further

⁹³ Harvard prompt book, pp. 55-57.

⁹⁴ Cole, p. 347.

acts of personal contrition for the death of Richard (4.1.227-293). Earlier nineteenth-century performers similarly used a punctuation of brass at this point as they committed themselves to more atonement. Macready stated he used a 'shrill and short trumpet' and he noted also that this moment in Kemble's performance was considered a '*coup de théâtre*'.⁹⁵ Kemble, starting up from prayer at the sound of a trumpet was, in the words of Boaden, 'one of the most spirited excitements that the stage has ever displayed'.⁹⁶ Kean used a rising fanfare at this point in the speech and he appeared to be following the popular and traditional 'business' at this key moment. Kean also added more brass on the cue: 'All things stay for me' as he exited with another trumpet flourish.

The sun rose on the second scene where, in the French camp, the Dauphin and others prepared for battle (4.2.1-63). Isaacson used again the triple-time, four-part fanfares to characterise the French military, whilst the score indicates that the dialogue was underpinned with brief battle fanfares from beneath the stage. The trumpet under the stage would have sounded muffled and distant and the trumpeter was instructed, on the score, to 'come into orchestra for the march'. The player had time to do that whilst, in the English camp, the scene which affirmed the bonds of battle 'We few, we happy few, we band of brothers' was declaimed without music (4.3.1-133). Kean steered away from implanting music into speeches of heightened verse and here in his own performance of the St. Crispian's Day speech he let the text speak directly.

Shakespeare's *Henry V* contains no specific scene at the battle of Agincourt. Pistol's encounter with a French speaking soldier (4.4.1-70) stands, Emma Smith suggests, as an 'ironic, anti-climatic, unheroic synecdoche' for the battle. She notes that Kemble, Macready, Kean and many twentieth-century directors cut this scene.⁹⁷ I

⁹⁵ Smith, *King Henry V*, p. 186.

⁹⁶ James Boaden, *Memoires of the Life of John Philip Kemble Esq.*, 2 vols (London: Longman, Hurst and others, 1825), II, p. 53.

⁹⁷ Smith, *King Henry V*, pp. 196-200.

suggest that Kean does not take a low-key 'anti-climatic' approach but turned the battle into a short musically-underpinned extra-textual high point in the drama. After the King's haranguing speech 'Tell the Constable/We are but warriors for the working day' (4.3.109-126), delivered by Kean with 'masterly...fiery unstudied energy',⁹⁸ the army moved off to fight 'Now soldiers march away/...Heaven dispose the day' (4.4.132-3) with shouts of 'St. George'. They were accompanied by a vigorous brass ensemble march and the anachronistic noise of gunfire.⁹⁹ Kean highlighted 'MARCH TO THE BATTLE' on his play bill and the only directive on the printed text 'trumpet march' gave little hint of the scope of the extra-textual activity that, accompanied by the music, ended the scene. The massed supers in full battle cry, marching to music, symbolised the approaching battle. With no curtain music or curtain fall the action flowed into a scene in another part of the field of battle, where the Dauphin, Constable and others, in confusion, were considering possible defeat. Again trumpets under the stage evoked the sounds and stress of the distant battle as the action finally moved back to the English camp.¹⁰⁰

Kean made numerous cuts to Act Four and with these totally removed any reference to the killing of the boys and any unprovoked or revenge killing of the prisoners. It was a clean moral view of warfare presented for the Victorian audience. Kean's next scene showed part of the battle field where trumpets sounded as the 'bodies of the Duke of York and Earl of Suffolk [were] borne across the stage by soldiers'. Although Kean used this sombre event to fill the stage before the entry of the king and his retinue, he limited the music to military trumpet calls. No specific music was provided here at this brief ceremonial moment at the opening of a long scene of dialogue which later nineteenth-century directors developed into an empathetic musical

⁹⁸ Cole, p. 347.

⁹⁹ Edmunds prompt book, p. 65.

¹⁰⁰ Kean, *Henry V*, p. 66.

procession. In a cut of the text that showed the king venting his anger over the loss of his nobles, he entered and proclaimed: ‘I was not angry since I came to France/Until this instance’ and sent a personal challenge to his opposite numbers ‘...make them skirr away, as swift as stone/ Enforced from the Assyrian slings’ dispatching the herald with another trumpet fanfare (4.7.50-51). Exeter’s richly visual oration for the dead nobles is played without music:

...York, all haggled over,
Comes to him, where in gore he lay instep’s,
And takes him by the hand; kisses the gashes,
That bloodily did yarn upon his face;
And cries aloud, ‘Tarry, dear cousin Suffolk!
My soul shall thine keep company to heaven:
Tarry, sweet soul, for mine, then fly abreast;
As in this glorious and well foughten field,
We keep together in our chivalry.’ (4.6.11-19)

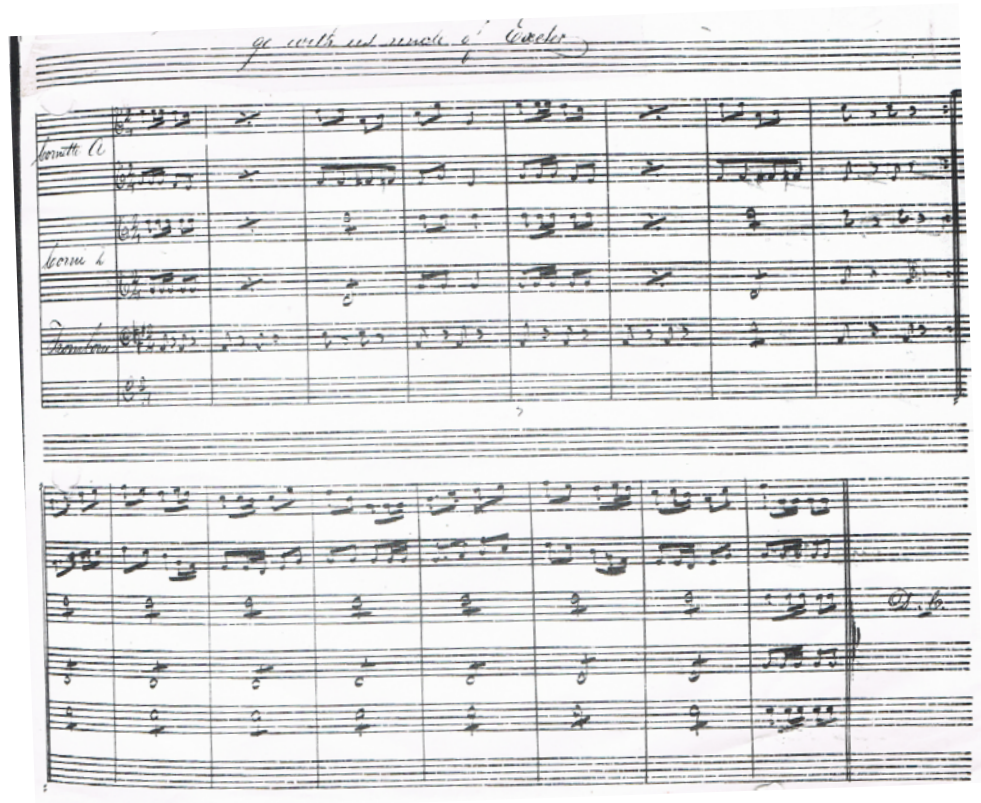
It is worth noting that such a moment in the text, with its raw physicality and emotionalism, could have been treated as melodrama and engorged with underscoring but Kean left the text unsullied. It is a general textual ‘cut’ of the play that makes the English appear not only clean and virtuous in their warfare but not over-emotionalised in their personal grief. The absence of interposed expressive music within the text is part of Kean’s simple unsullied characterisation of the English in action. The King accepted Mountjoy’s word that the day belonged to England and as Smith notes in Macready’s production ‘this is accompanied by trumpets and drums’ whilst Kean’s soldiers gave ‘shouts and cheers’.¹⁰¹ Kean’s score (Ex. 2.18) reveals that an elaborate



Ex. 2.18 Brass fanfares on St Crispian’s Day

¹⁰¹ Smith, p. 186.

and extensive four-part brass flourish was sounded. Similar music, with the added weighty trombones (Ex. 2.19) ended the scene.



Ex. 2.19 Exit fanfares with trombones

This is strong music, broad in outline, suggestive of a narrative approach to victory; it has no extended self-indulgent musical triumphalism which later directors added at this point.

The next scene includes the verbal exchanges relating to Williams and the glove, and is followed by the listing of the numbers of the French and English dead and King Henry's acceptance of victory (4.8.1-124). The battle decisively over, Henry called for religious rites followed by a procession to the nearby village. This text was interpreted throughout the nineteenth century (as will be seen in later chapters), as an opportunity for vocal music (4.8.120-124). Kean made his interpretation explicit in the italicised stage directions:

Do we all Holy rites
*[The curtains of the Royal Pavilion are drawn
 Aside, and discover an Altar and Priests.]*
 Let there be sung 'Non Nobis' and 'Te deum'

The dead with charity enclosed in clay:
 We'll then to Calais; and to England then;
 Where ne'er from France arrived more happy men.
*[Organ music; all kneel, and join in Song of Thanksgiving]*¹⁰²

Isaacson provided eight bars, marked *Andante Religioso*, of hymn-like wind music on the cue 'more happy men' which created a realistic impression of the organ music that the stage directions indicated; it is very similar to the prayer music from the pre-battle tableau. Here was a moment for stage realignment and, kneeling in front of priests and an altar, the cast sang an old anonymous Italian hymn *Alta Trinita Beata*. The words, in a rare occurrence of the lyric of a song or chorus being noted on the orchestral score, are a formal yet emotive hymn of praise to the Holy Trinity:

Alta trinita beata, Da noi sempre adorata, Trinita gloriosa.
 Unita maravigliosa. Tu sei manna saporosa. E tutta desiderosa.¹⁰³

This four-part setting of meditative beauty (Ex. 2.20), unaccompanied by orchestra,

The image displays a musical score for a four-part vocal setting titled "ALTA TRINITA BEATA". The score is arranged in two columns. The left column shows the vocal parts for Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass, with lyrics written below the notes. The right column shows the same vocal parts with different lyrics. The lyrics are in Italian and praise the Holy Trinity. The music is written in a simple, hymn-like style with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C).

ALTA TRINITA BEATA

Soprano
 Alto
 Tenor
 Bass

Al - ta Tri - ni - ta be - a - ta,
 da noi sem - pre a - do - ra - ta.
 Tri - ni - ta glo - ri - o - sa

u - ni - ta ma - ra - vi - gio - sa.
 Tu sei man - na sa - po - ro - sa
 e tut - ta de - si - de - ro - sa.

Ex. 2.20 A modern edition of *Alta Trinita Beata* identical to Kean's version

¹⁰² Kean, *Henry V*, p. 74.

¹⁰³ Kean, orchestral score, p. 185.

created an extra-textual music-theatre ending to the act. Kean's manuscript is too faint to reproduce from microfilm so an identical modern edition is reprinted above.¹⁰⁴ At the king's direction, the English army intoned this serious anthem for the souls of the dead before they left the battlefield; as the soldiers sang, no mystical, unseen orchestra assisted their performance or helped the audience towards a deeper emotional response; it was raw, quiet and manly, and (within the artifice of theatricality) real. It was a mimetic moment of communication between the participants, the king and his men, and one that may have developed a powerful wave of religiously inspired sympathy in the audience as they witnessed the scene. In the terminology of modern film-music studies, this use of music within the action is termed 'diegetic'.¹⁰⁵ This sombre unaccompanied music is created within the world of the story; the singing on the instructions of the king was part of the diegesis of what was *actually* happening. It was not, as occurred frequently in nineteenth-century opera, music to create an *impression* or give a commentary on what was happening, and neither was it extra or non-diegetic in the manner of the rest of the music in the play (apart from the trumpet calls that had a function in battle), which was laid onto the world of the play, to develop and control audience feelings and responses to what was happening. Diegetically in this post-textual ending to the scene, after the battle, the soldiers knelt and sang (albeit with rare accomplishment and skill for a tired army) the unaccompanied *Alta Trinita Beata*; the music was produced within the consciousness of the performance and they sang, because that is what they actually did, as they expressed their own relief, and praised God for their deliverance. The piece (probably unknown to the audience) was a quiet, reflective and a surprising choice. From Kean's prompt book direction 'all...join in a

¹⁰⁴ Donald J. Hughes, ed., *Alta Trinita Beata*, in 'Loth to Depart' (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974) pp. 28-29.

¹⁰⁵ For a concise analysis of the convention in film of diegetic and extra-diegetic music see Sarah Hatchuel, *Shakespeare, From Stage to Screen*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 89 and for a diagrammatic analysis of diegetic and non-diegetic sound in film see <<http://filmsound.org/terminology/diegetic.html>> [accessed 6 July 2012].

Song of Thanksgiving [my italics], a robust even bright song-setting might have been anticipated, but the score reveals this reverential, unaccompanied hymn for four-part male voices, which was far removed from an archetypal nineteenth-century emotional expression of relief and celebration. There was no concluding short burst of curtain music which so frequently finished a scene in a play, nor in the operatic manner of ending scenes of conflict, was there a rollicking victory chorus accompanied by the rampaging sound of an orchestra at full volume. Kean focused on the religiosity and the severity of medieval Catholicism in the king's words 'Let there be sung *non nobis*' and (albeit employing a different reverential text) he used this music to engage his audience with how the men felt who survived the battle. The use of this slow, densely harmonic setting of a fiercely restrained melody was a strikingly expressive '*coup de théâtre*'. Whatever twenty-first century analytical paradigm is applied to this technique, what is revealed is an unusual, unexpected and powerful ending to the scene at Agincourt.¹⁰⁶

Kean said of this piece on his playbill: 'The Hymn of Thanksgiving, at the end of the fourth act, is supposed to be as old as A.D.1310'. Stylistically the music, with its diatonic tonality clearly post-dates his claims. Donald J. Hughes, in a twentieth-century song collection, attributed *Alta Trinita Beata* to the fifteenth century.¹⁰⁷ The lyrics are early Italian and the melody is a type of *Laudi spirituali* known throughout Europe in the early fourteenth to fifteenth centuries.¹⁰⁸ These were sung, on the occasions of Saints days and other key events in the calendar, by processions of trades people in the street (*laudesi*) and originally were simple single-line melodies. Charles Burney (1726-1814) in his influential *General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period* described having witnessed a *laudi* being sung in procession in Florence and

¹⁰⁶ Delegates at the conference *Shakespeare, Music and Performance*, dir by David Lindley (Shakespeare's Globe, 3-5 May 2013) gave a moving four-part vocal rendition of the anthem as part of a paper 'Let there be sung *Non Nobis* and *Te Deum*' by Val Brodie.

¹⁰⁷ Donald Hughes, *Sing for Pleasure* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974), pp. 28-29.

¹⁰⁸ *Laudi spirituali* variously referred to as *laudi*, *laude*, *lauda*.

gives the music of *alta trinita*, in two parts, as an example of the genre.¹⁰⁹ The melody of *Alta Trinita Beata* is of anonymous origin but may have emerged from Florence, Cortona, or Milan where the processions were permitted and became popular from the 1480s onwards.¹¹⁰ Composers, for example Josquin Dèspres (1440-1521), used these melodies as a basis for masses and other formal religious settings adding, in some instances, elaborate part writing.¹¹¹ The harmonies of Kean's four-part homophonic setting of the melody, with a modulation on the flat side on the words 'tu sei mana saporosa', date this setting stylistically to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. Sung by a vast cast, including the fifty specially engaged singers, the sombre and unaccompanied spiritual hymn captured the relief of the weary army. Kean gave the soldiers music whose origin was in those of ordinary men, and his choice of *Alta Tinita Beata* was a unique moment in nineteenth-century productions of the play. Macready ended this scene with a *Te Deum* but no score remains to show the nature of his setting.¹¹² Kean gave this scene an ending that embodied the Catholicism of the medieval church and it was the men themselves who portrayed their condition and religiosity after the battle. Although Kean was a hundred years or so astray in his attribution of the provenance of *Alta Trinita Beata*, for the audience this was a soundscape of a long-lost world, exotic in its historical rarity, pure in its unpolluted musical setting, and was unheard of in their theatre, church, or concert-going experience. Shakespeare's textual invitation to create a musical-led theatre moment is one that has reverberated through the play's subsequent performance history and it is a

¹⁰⁹ Charles Burney, *A General History of Music, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, 4 vols (London: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1776-89), I, p. 631.

¹¹⁰ La Trobe University, Medieval Music Database

<<http://www.lib.latrobe.rdu.au/MMMDB/Anon/H001L031>> [accessed 23 May 2010] Charles Burney stated that *Alta Trinita* was housed in Magliabecchi Library, Florence. The La Trobe University archive shows it is still in the Magliabecchi collection which is now absorbed into the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze. La Trobe state that further copies exist in National Libraries in Cortona and Milan.

¹¹¹ John Stevens and William F. Prizer 'Lauda Spirituale[sic]' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, 20 vols (London: Macmillan, 1980), VII, pp. 538-543. This article is not available in the more recent on-line *New Grove*.

¹¹² William Charles Macready, *Henry V*, prompt book (1819), *Prompt Books from the Folger Shakespeare Library*, Reel 25.

scene that will be revisited several times in this study.

A second long entre'acte played before Act Five took the audience musically back again into the nineteenth century; here Isaacson wrote music of a different character to that of the first entre'acte before Act Two. This is not theatrically superficial writing but, befitting the progress of the drama, this music marked *maestoso*, is a bold, self confident and melodically-energetic march. It consists of a succession of wide-ranging dotted-rhythm melodies, supported by forceful repetitive patterns of accompaniment and it ends with a strongly emphatic coda. This music ensured that Henry's victory was not forgotten by the audience during the long scene change.

The entre'acte was followed at the opening of Act Five by yet another substantial musical introduction which began with a short reflective *adagio* section and moved into a lengthy *maestoso* before the Chorus, again stationed in her classical temple, took the action forward: 'Now we bear the King towards Calais'. This *maestoso* section is another in the extended *da capo* structure, a musical form that always involves return to a familiar opening. It is an appropriate form to embody the emotions surrounding a return. The piece has an initial D major section (A) with a strong melody and bold harmony followed by an emotional gear change in the middle section (B) to more animated orchestration and higher tessitura in the relative major dominant key of A major. The final section leads reassuringly to a restatement of the opening D major (A) section. This music set a tone of ceremonial pomp and ceremony before the Chorus related how Londoners welcomed the return of their King. The D major (A) section of the *maestoso*, by then familiar to the audience, was played again at the end of the speech probably to cover the sound of the large cast gathering backstage.¹¹³ Collectively this entre'acte and the opening music to Act Five represent a

¹¹³ Kean, *Henry V*, p. 83.

break with the curtain down of about twenty minutes. This was time for complex backstage activity and re-organisation as props, costumes and scenic surroundings changed from the battlefield to a medieval cityscape. What followed was an extra-textual representation of the events recently described in the Chorus which Kean, and his imitators over the next half decade, entitled the Episode.

Kean reserved his largest type face on the playbills for the 'HISTORICAL EPISODE'. An illustration of this scene,¹¹⁴ has frequently been used by twentieth century theatre historians, amongst them T.W. Craik and Schoch to define and embody the concept of pictorial realism and spectacle-led Shakespeare (Fig. 2.3). King Henry is pictured centre stage on his horse, surrounded by waving crowds and timbrell-playing dancing girls. It is an image which seems to have become set in theatrical aspic and was closely imitated in the *Henry V* productions in the next forty years by Calvert and Mansfield. A lithograph in *The Illustrated London News*, based on the set design, showed 'the grand historical Episode' and 'the reception of the Royal victor' and was reproduced less than a month after Kean's opening.¹¹⁵ Published on St.George's Day together with the report of the successful production, it had much of the status of an actual historical event. It is placed in the newspaper adjacent to the court circular outlining the activities Queen Victoria and is immediately above the retrospective calendar of significant events from that week in history. It places the return to London of Kean's King Henry, not only at the heart of Victorian courtly life, but also on a par with notable events of English history.

The columnist describing the Episode mentioned the music that accompanied the occasion stated: 'boys representing angels...at the King's approach sang with

¹¹⁴ F. Lloyds, a watercolour from one of a series to the stage designs of William Telbin, 1859, reproduced in, amongst others, Schoch, 'Pictorial Shakespeare' p. 70, and T.W.Craik, *King Henry V* (London: Thomson, 2005), p. 85.

¹¹⁵ *The London Illustrated News*, 23 April 1859, p. 397.

melodious voices and with organs an English anthem',¹¹⁶ and later analysts who consider the scene depicted in the set design without consulting the score may overlook the multi-arts activity and noise of the onstage progression. Calculated from a timed performance of the music (and *tempi* may be different hence this is only an estimate) it is possible to suggest that the staging of the event took between twenty and twenty-five minutes. The scene is not a tableau but is a musically driven, well constructed enactment devised to give the impression of life on the streets of London as the crowds gathered and elders of the city arrived in procession to welcome the king and his entourage. The actor Edward Righton, who had played in the mob in Kean's *Richard II*, was accustomed to crowd scenes and he mentioned acrobats and dancers in the *Henry V* procession and concluded his description of what to him, on-stage, was a chaotic event: 'midst the screaming women and their cries for help ... men shouted and children were almost trampled on ... clanging of huge bells, and the sound of the *disappearing band* [my italics] ... the curtain fell'.¹¹⁷ It is not clear what he meant by the 'disappearing band' – perhaps he was at the back with the crowds behind the street musicians as they initially moved in, or maybe he saw others moving in to replace them down stage. His comment is clear that with the movement and sounds of the people this was an overwhelmingly noisy and physical event and it is one that cannot be totally captured by pictorial analysis. According to Righton some of the onstage organisation was a drama of its own, but the fifty-one pages of music of this scene (score 227-268) reveal much about what Kean planned to happen. The following analysis reveals the theatrical contours of a scene which grew from intimate and low-life revels on the street to the pomp and ceremony of a civic celebration that welcomed the return of an heroic victor.

The music throughout the scene is continuous, beginning relatively quietly with

¹¹⁶ *The London Illustrated News*, 23 April 1859, p. 398.

¹¹⁷ Booth, p. 51.

street musicians. First there were ‘bagpipes’ (Ex 2.21); the score uses the plural but one instrument is a set of ‘bagpipes’ so there may have been just one player, for the thin scoring is suggestive of a single piper.



Ex. 2. 21 Bagpipe music opened the Episode

Kean used on-stage replicas of the pipes with an actor miming the playing but Isaacson recreated the bagpipes sound effectively and realistically by scoring a single oboe, imitating the nippy texture of chanter melody, with two bassoons playing long open fifths to suggest the characteristic drone.¹¹⁸ Isaacson added upward *appoggiatura* to the upper note of each fifth to give the articulation or ‘gracing’ effect idiomatic of bagpipes.¹¹⁹ The bagpipes have mixed and ancient social origins. Long associated with victory, the Roman historian Suetonius records the emperor Nero vowing to play

¹¹⁸ For an exhibition of bagpipes and explanation of their history and technique together with audio examples, visit Morpeth Chantry Bagpipe Museum, Morpeth, Northumberland.

¹¹⁹ David Munrow, *Instruments of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), p. 10.

one if he achieved a certain victory.¹²⁰ The wide-spread vernacular use of bagpipes throughout Europe has been described since the Middle Ages,¹²¹ and their centrality to social enjoyment has been illuminated by painters including Pieter Breughel the Elder, whose *Peasant Wedding* (1567) shows bagpipers mingling as they entertain at a homely celebration. David Munrow attributes the popularity of the bagpipes to practicality, mobility, and the ability of the individual musician to play continuously as the air bag kept up a flow of sound whilst the player took a breath.¹²² From Kean's music score it is not possible to determine if the piper was a folk piper (Fig. 2.3 left) or a uniformed royal musician playing traditional style tunes (Fig. 2.3 right).



Fig. 2.3
 Left: *The Peasant Wedding* Breughel the Elder¹²³
 Right: Major Ross, Piper to Queen Victoria¹²⁴

Queen Victoria, in a bout of Highland enthusiasm, appointed a Royal Piper in 1843, a tradition which has been sustained to the present day and Kean may have used a piper in highland dress to develop that royal link in the mind of his audience.

Whatever the social class of the piper, he was followed immediately by a

¹²⁰ Curt Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments* (New York: Norton, 1940), p. 141.

¹²¹ For a description of pan-European use see Antony Baines, 'Bagpipes', *Pitt Rivers Museum Occasional Papers on Technology*, 9 (Oxford, 1960).

¹²² For a discussion of social uses, playing techniques and history of the bagpipe see Munrow, p. 10.

¹²³ Breughel the Elder, *The Peasant Wedding* (1567), Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

¹²⁴ Kenneth Macleary, *Major Ross* (circa 1860), Morpeth Bagpipe Museum.

traditional one-man-band musician playing a pipe and tabor, instruments of popular street entertainment. Will Kempe made his dance in Elizabethan times from Norwich to London accompanied by the pipe and tabor and the sixteenth-century woodcut (Fig. 2.4), gives a flavour of the flexibility and mobility of the pipe and tabor.¹²⁵ The pipe is a long three-hole instrument of limited high-pitched range and the drum has a bright tenor-toned incisive sound. Isaacson recreated the sound of the pipe and tabor using flute, double-stopped *pizzicato* violin and drum (Ex. 2.22). In his recreation of the sounds of the medieval streets the composer effectively reduced his instrumentation, and imaginatively put together small combinations, to capture an impression of the sounds of instruments from an earlier era. Isaacson was building on the work of



Fig. 2.4 Pipe and Tabor in Will Kempe's *Nine Daies Wonder* (1600)



Fig. 2.22 Pipe and tabor – a one man band

Kean's long-serving musical director Hatton, whose score for the procession in Kean's

¹²⁵ William Kempe, woodcut *Nine Daies Wonder* (1600), in Munrow, p. 13.

Richard II of the usurping Henry IV leading the overthrown King into the city was similarly defined by an extra-textual musically dominated scene, and it too began with *verisimo* street music.¹²⁶

As the scene gathered momentum a fanfare of four trumpets signaled the arrival of more elevated personnel on the scene. The fanfare led into a long and solid full orchestral *maestoso* section with appropriate pomp and stateliness befitting the procession of dignitaries preceding King Henry (Ex. 2.23 below). Stylistically, after the street music, it heralded a return to a nineteenth-century musical idiom with thick orchestration and an abundance of percussion. The long (ABA) march gave time for the arrival of an extensive procession. Kean, in his preface, quoted the medieval chronicler who claimed to have been at Agincourt and whose writings had been translated, in 1833, by Harris Nicolas. The chronicler described the scene thus:

And when the wished-for Saturday dawned, the citizens went forth to meet the King...trumpets, clarions, and horns, sounded in various melody ...and behind the Tower were innumerable boys, representing angels, arrayed in white...at the King's approach sang with melodious voices, and with organs, an English anthem.¹²⁷

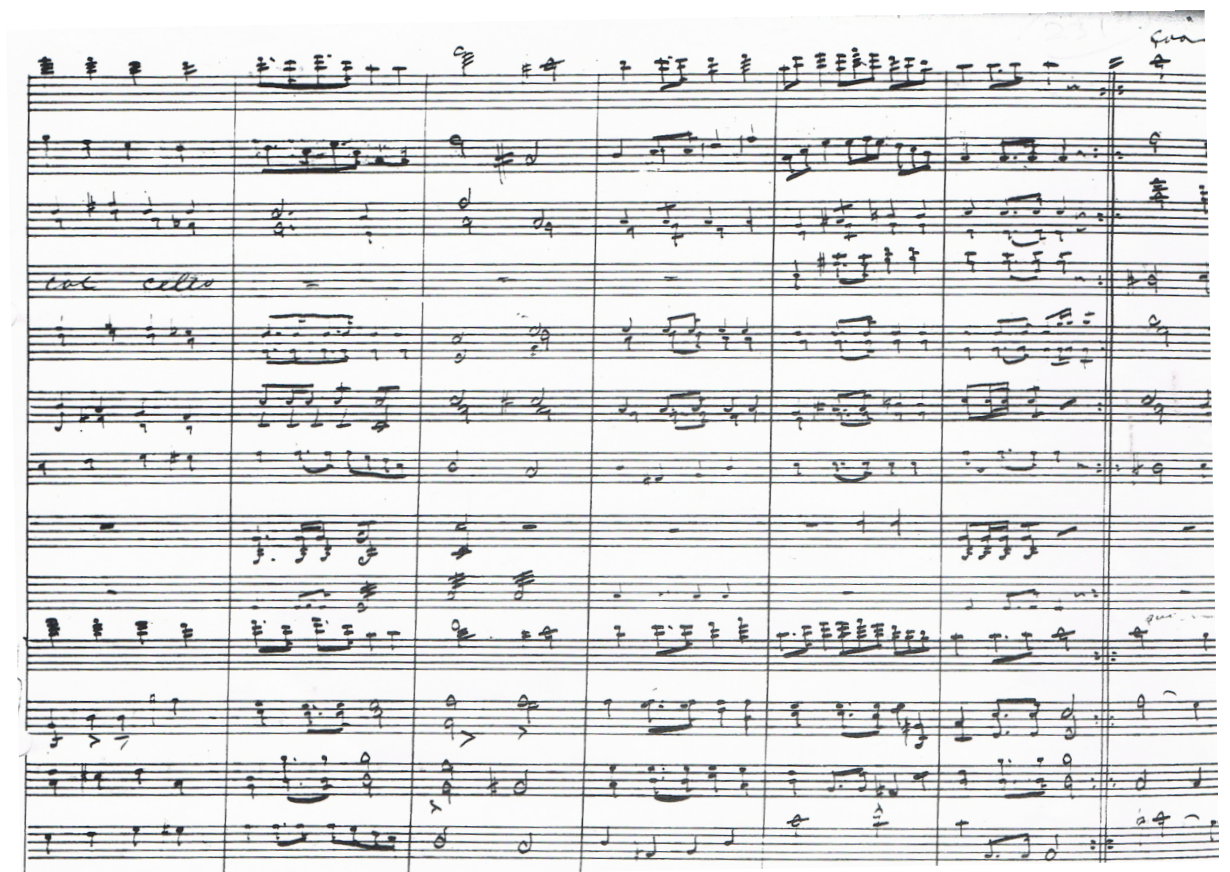
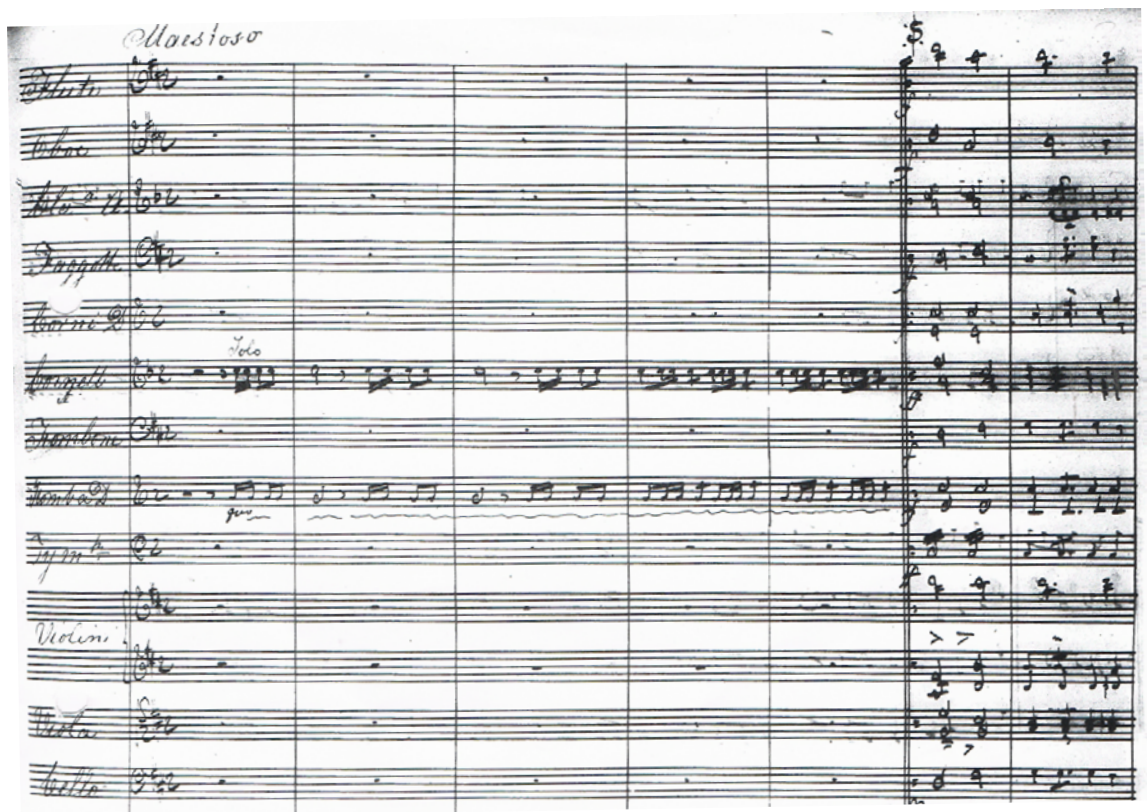
Kean followed the detail of this description and next introduced the *Agincourt Song* which was sung by the boys. There were twenty boys,¹²⁸ dressed as angels, high on the tower, a good stage placing where they would be seen by, and see, the conductor and be heard clearly. Kean's source for the 'Agincourt Song' was likely to have been the same Chappell's volume of airs used for other tunes where it appears, with lyrics, in a typical nineteenth-century pianistic setting.¹²⁹ Isaacson lightly scored an introduction and accompaniment for woodwind ensemble (oboe, clarinets and bassoons) which would

¹²⁶ Charles Kean, *Richard II*, orchestral score, Folger Shakespeare Library, W.b. 576.

¹²⁷ Sir Harris Nicolas (1799-1848), *History of the Battle of Agincourt; And the Expedition of Henry The Fifth into France, in 1415; to which is added, the Roll of the Men at Arms, in the English army* (London: Johnson, 1833), in Kean, p. vii.

¹²⁸ Edmunds prompt book, p. 84.

¹²⁹ Chappell, *A Collection of National Airs* [n. p.]



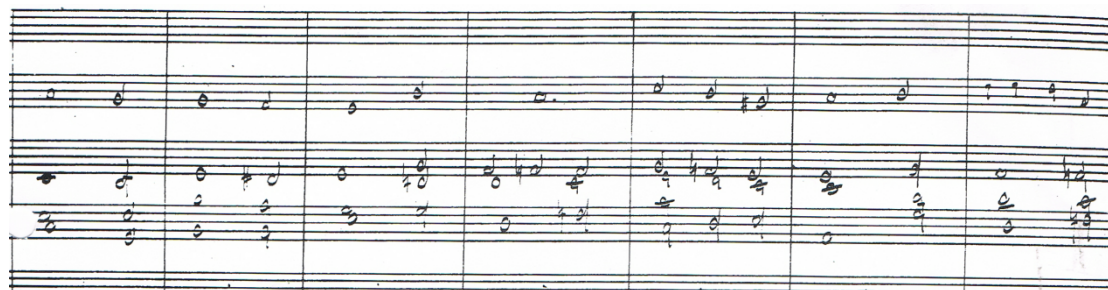
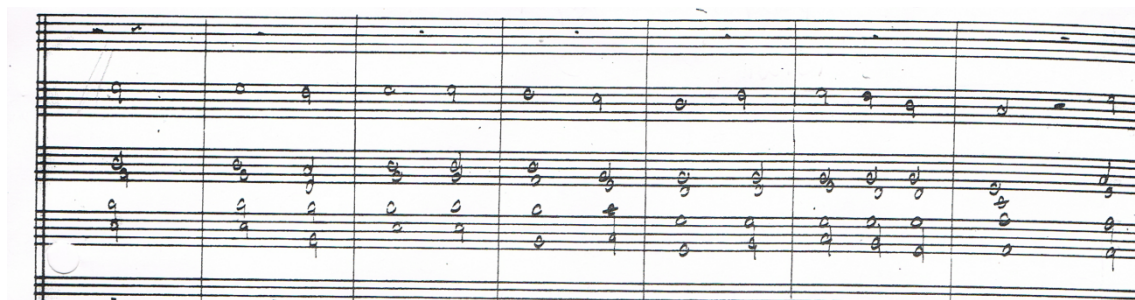
Ex. 2.23 Full orchestral processional march for the arrival of the king

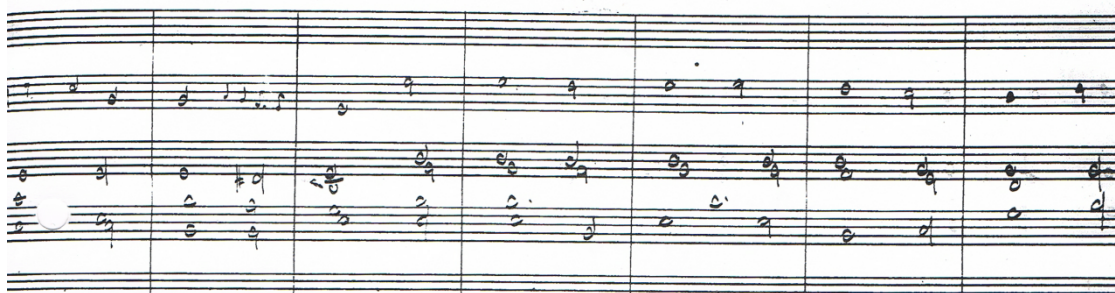
have given an impression of 'organs' (Ex. 2.24). Although the melody is medieval in

outline Isaacson used nineteenth-century harmonies, thus nullifying the dorian modality and some of the medieval quality of the lowered leading notes of the traditional tune.

The repeats of the whole melody within the quiet woodwind setting indicate that three verses were sung by the boys. Their bright voices rang out a version of these traditional words:

Our King went forth to Normandy,
With grace and might and chivalry,
The God for him wrought marv'lously,
Wherefore England may call and cry 'Deo gratias'.





Ex. 2.24 *The Agincourt Song* sung by the boys' choir

A fuller orchestration of strings and high flutes joined for a further two verses where it seems likely that as the orchestration grew, so the mature professional voices would have joined in, otherwise the sound of the boys would have been drowned by the orchestra. It created a climax to surround the arrival of the medieval king: a stirringly lively, bright and collective chorus of welcome.

The chronicler used the word 'organs' for the accompaniment of the boys but it appears that Kean, working in the relatively small Princess's theatre, did not attempt to install an organ and throughout used woodwind to imitate the sound. The nineteenth-century organ was a large instrument increasingly being installed in churches replacing the musicians of the west gallery, a social upheaval that underpins the plot of *Under the Greenwood Tree* (1872).¹³⁰ In the medieval period the word indicated a widely-used small instrument known today as a portative organ (Fig. 2.5).¹³¹ These instruments were used in processions, carried in a sling, the player operating both the fingering and the bellows.



Fig. 2.5 Portative organ (1451)

¹³⁰ Thomas Hardy (1840-1928), *Under the Greenwood Tree* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1994), especially chapters two and four.

¹³¹ Martin le France, *Le Champion des Dames* (1451) miniature in Munrow, p. 22.

The Edmunds prompt book states that the players of the pipe and tabour, bagpipes, and *harp* [my italics], ‘walked around’. Maybe the prompter confused the appearance of the portative organ for a small harp (they are similar in size) or maybe the organ sound was mimed by an actor using a harp. This minor mystery is unlikely to be solved but it does not detract from the evidence of the score that Isaacson’s light woodwind setting of the ‘Agincourt Song’ created a light sound that had the quality of a small medieval instrument. The *tutti* orchestral ending by this accomplished orchestrator linked in smoothly and was a typical nineteenth-century climax that may well have elicited applause.

Following the Agincourt Song and the arrival of the king, the music changed to a light dance section in contrasting triple time. This is the music that accompanies the scene seen frozen in time in the much reproduced set design (Fig. 2.6) of the Episode.



Fig. 2.6 King Henry enters the city in the Episode

As the girls danced in a circle it was a relaxed event, the on-stage street musicians

joined in with the crowd, and as one dancer fell everyone laughed.¹³² Henry watched on horseback from centre stage as girls danced prettily and energetically before him although, bearing in mind Kean's obsession with historical veracity, there was little that was overtly medieval about this dance scene. The lightly scored instrumental music is in the character of dance episodes in opera of the same period and the illustration shows girls in flimsy floating dresses, following the chronicler's description: 'attired in white, singing with timbrels and dance'. Kean did not use medieval flowing long gowns or simple bass-dance steps; this is a nineteenth-century balletic scene with girls showing bare arms, and their ankles revealed. They are depicted in the midst of a balletic outstretched movement displaying athletically-rhythmical dancing, their arms and pointed toes well synchronized. The music suggests lightness and speed, and they may have added rhythmic percussive colour with their timbrels. Kean's twenty-four dancers would have been specialist performers. Actor managers, for example Frank Benson, continued the practice of engaging a troupe of ballet girls for performances of Shakespeare later in the nineteenth century.¹³³ It is easy to overlook that this vision of pointed-toed girls (Fig. 2.7) dressed in mid-calf length dresses with wings reminiscent of the Wilis in *Giselle*,¹³⁴ was an image from a popular and new cultural movement in nineteenth-century Europe. Richard Schoch, discussing the 1866 Select committee that examined the licensing and regulating of entertainment, has shown that ballets along with opera selections and comic scenes were found to be performed regularly and popularly in music halls, and that despite the recommendations of the committee, no legislation was enacted to prevent them doing so.¹³⁵ Kean (and later Calvert) were both appealing to popular taste in this anachronistic inclusion of the daintily-titillating dancing girls, but financially it paid dividends. As a cartoonist in *The Days' Doings*

¹³² Harvard prompt book, p. 84.

¹³³ Val Brodie, pp. 23-24.

¹³⁴ Adolphe Adam (1758-1848), *Giselle*, choreography Jean Coralli and Jules Perrot (Paris 1841, London, 1842).

¹³⁵ Richard Schoch, 'Shakespeare and the Music Hall', in Davis and Holland, pp. 236-239.

neatly said ‘ “Shakespeare spells ruin, but “legs” mean dividends’.¹³⁶



Fig. 2.7 Lithograph of Carlotta Grisi in *Giselle* 1841

After the dance the Episode continued with a grandiose rendering of ‘Chanson de Roland’ pitched high for full chorus in B flat with throbbing full orchestral support. Marked *bold*, this is the melody heard previously in the Overture and during Chorus One, which Kean used in association with the victory at Agincourt. Kean stated in his introduction that ‘Chanson Roland’ was ‘given by the entire chorus’ in the Episode. More information about Kean’s performance practice with his army of supers would be needed to determine if everyone, or just his fifty extra singers plus the boys, sang. Supers often went on stage without rehearsal and it would be unlikely that this choral music could be learnt without practice. Certainly Kean used the engagement of an extra chorus as a marketing point on his play bills and he probably knew that to achieve an effective musical performances in this extensive music-led Episode, and at the other key moment of the drama especially in four-part music at the end of Act Four, he needed specialist performers whom Isaacson could rehearse to an acceptable standard.

‘Chanson Roland’ (heard earlier in the Overture and during Chorus One)

¹³⁶ *The Days’ Doings* 1870, quoted in Tracy C. Davis, ‘Actresses as Working Women’ (London: Routledge, 1991), p. 111.

brought the Episode to a climax and after it an extensive march marked *maestoso* dominated the scene with strength and power until the curtain fell (Ex. 2.25). Scored for full orchestra, with prominent trumpet writing giving brilliance to the texture, it resonated with the spectacle of the rich garments, uniforms, the massed pressing crowds, the hero on horseback and all the pomp and the ceremony of a royal event. It is a long scene and the music reveals this final section lasted between six and eight minutes. There was complex activity on stage with movement of the boy singers in their angel costumes, the Lord Mayor giving King Henry the keys of the city, more dancing, standards on the move and an historical procession of prophets all watched by

Ex. 2.25 *Maestoso* opening to extended celebratory ending of Episode

the citizens who enthusiastically greeted their king. As the music and the massed

singing drew to a climax, the scene ended with shouts of ‘Long live the King’.¹³⁷ Kean concluded his playbill note with the words of the chronicler ‘A greater assembly, or a nobler spectacle, was not recollected to have been seen ever before in London.’¹³⁸

The music of the Episode reveals that this long extra-textual scene, which lasted about twenty to twenty-five minutes, portrayed a wide gamut of human experience and emotion. The music score provides a measure of understanding that no single painting, on its own, can provide, of how, in nineteenth-century high drama, a spectacle and story line could be explored visually, aurally and dramatically without text for an extensive scene. Today’s audiences for cinema are accustomed to long sequences of visual preamble and situation development and this textless Episode was a theatrical experience that the nineteenth-century theatre audience equally understood and appreciated. The instrumental procession was a regular feature of opera and there are direct parallels to Kean’s celebration for his victorious king. *Aida*, composed slightly later in 1871, provides an example for comparison. The very action of watching in the theatre makes the audience part of the welcoming crowd and they, along with the cast, contribute to the aura that aggrandises the centre figures. In his Episode, Kean harnessed onto high drama this power of the witnessing and emotional participation by both onstage crowd and audience. Discussing melodrama, Heidi J. Holder notes the ‘enduring desire for intensely localized plays...a visual realm that authenticates the action on the stage’.¹³⁹ With sound of bells, recognizable London scenery, horses and street music again the setting of the play crosses genres: opera, ballet, music hall, acrobats and melodrama are all part of Kean’s mix.

As already noted this was not Kean’s first foray into staging a massed crowd

¹³⁷ Harvard prompt book, p. 84.

¹³⁸ Kean, p, 84.

¹³⁹ Heidi J. Holder, ‘Nation and Neighbourhood, Jews and Englishmen: Location and Theatrical Ideology in Victorian London’, in Davis and Holland, p. 106.

reception. In his 1857 production of *Richard II*, the Act Five procession scene used around six hundred supers, dummy horses and pealing church bells, in what Andrew Gurr has termed ‘the romanticised colour of the Victorian idea of medieval history’.¹⁴⁰ Walter Pater, writing in 1889, recalled Kean’s *Richard II* as ‘much more than Shakespeare’s play could ever have been before’.¹⁴¹ His hyperbole offers an insight into contemporary reception of these vast theatrical offerings. He records that ‘In the hands of Kean the play became like an exquisite performance on the violin’. Theodor Fontane reported on Kean’s *Richard II* in essays published in Stuttgart in 1860 after he had seen twenty-five productions of Shakespeare in London during the years 1852 - 1858.¹⁴² Fontane was therefore well acquainted with the theatrical practices of the era and of the Episode in *Richard II* he enthusiastically equivocated:

I will not offer an opinion as to whether such interludes of Kean’s devising are a good thing. Besides, I do not believe that there is much to be said against them. In any case the representation (for good or ill) is a masterpiece. It is no exaggeration to say that the whole effect is that of a part of a street brought onstage, with genuine London life and bustle.

Sadly neither Pater or Fontane report on Kean’s *Henry V* but their comments on the Episode in *Richard II* provide useful insight into how contemporary observers received and appreciated such events.

Following the Episode, the penultimate short scene, dialogue between Fluellen, Gower and Pistol, is set in France in the neighbourhood of Troyes. Following immediately after the Episode (no introductory music) it was probably played down stage, in front of a cloth, whilst both royal parties assembled behind ready for the ending of the play in the interior of the Cathedral at Troyes. The final scene of the play does not use music except trumpets which sound fanfares for the entries, exits and re-entrances of the Royal parties. It is an austere ending with no music used to set the

¹⁴⁰ Andrew Gurr, *King Richard II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 46.

¹⁴¹ Walter Pater, ‘Shakespeare’s English Kings’ (1889), in Gurr, p. 46.

¹⁴² Fontane, ed.. by Jackson, p. 52.

atmosphere for the wooing scene or the marriage agreement. The Queen's speech 'God, the best maker of marriage' is cut (5.2.345-354), and the human touch when the King kisses his future Queen is left out (5.2.344). Kean's Henry simply placed a ring on her finger.¹⁴³ Kean cut the religiosity and the promise of peaceful relations between the countries and omitted the Epilogue with its historical truths that England was soon to lose France by the hand of Henry V's son. Using no music, Kean emphasised the oaths, the promise of prosperity and the success of England's conquest and on this victorious and formal note the play ended. A very short *maestoso* finale for full orchestra, dominated by militaristic trumpet fanfares and pounding percussive rhythms all supporting a strong melodic line, brought the curtain down.

Music contributed to the historicisation, religiosity, classicism and pageantry-driven paternalistic nationalism of Kean's production and it broadly served five different purposes. There was music whose function was practical, to frame and formalise the process of theatrical presentation including the Overture, curtain music and entre'actes. Secondly there was music created externally in the pit and under the stage to facilitate the military procedures, and other longer pieces used to set the mood of a scene atmospherically. These included the delicate serenades preceding Mrs Kean's Chorus speeches, and the opening of the scene in the French court. Thirdly music was deployed to reinforce the tone and direct the response of the audience; brief bursts of *melos* and underscoring, both techniques from popular theatre, lifted the pitch of dramatic excitement, and dance-like serenades and fanfares characterised the French as indolent and arrogant; it was food for any xenophobic leanings in the English public. Fourthly Kean introduced music to develop extra-textual effects including the 'March on Stage' and most notably the long Episode whose form is totally dictated by the length and characterization of the contrasting musics employed. Fifth, and finally, there

¹⁴³ Kean, p. 94.

was music within the action in the prayerful singing of the soldiers before they left the battlefield; whether one labels this mimetic or, in the language of film music, diegetic, what is revealed is an unusual and unexpected ending to the battle of Agincourt.

Nineteenth-century theatre music has habitually been summarily dismissed as music to cover the shifting of scenery, but the study of this score has revealed that when we look beyond the *entre'actes* (which served that purpose), and when this mid-Victorian production of *Henry V* is released from the static quality of familiar set-design illustrations, and the work is considered as a flowing time-based medium, then the soundscape emerges as an integral, varied and essential part of the creative process and the theatrical experience.

This aural study of Kean's score has revealed that the roots of this music are not only in the theatre and in elements of popular entertainment but are drawn from church music, salon music, music of the militia, urban street music, historically familiar tunes and settings, and from the English and Italian choral traditions. Given the subject matter, a few marches and plenteous trumpet calls may be considered axiomatic but Kean's techniques were subtle, varied and sophisticated, and deployed other musics. In places the text was supplanted by musically-accompanied action, other moments were revealed in musically-supported tableaux, whilst at the climax after Agincourt, after the text was concluded, the soldiers expressed their religious emotion through unaccompanied sixteenth-century Italian choral music. Ballet (a genre popular and relatively new to London stages) was introduced with a music of filigree texture, whilst traces of melodrama (rapidly losing popularity by 1859) lurked in the score. Underscoring (later to be the bulwark of actors lifting their voices to fill the large late-Victorian theatres), was introduced by Kean sparingly but with focused precision, whilst spectacle and the sounds of life amongst the crowds (including horses on stage, church bells, and idiosyncratic instrument-playing street performers), found a place in the

evening's entertainment. Also Kean, and his composer Isaacson, instinctively knew how, musically, to 'gild the lily'. They surrounded Mrs Kean in a warm aura of Mendelssohnesque music; this fashionable music had little to link it to the raw tale of Agincourt but spoke to the Victorian attributes of female domesticity, beauty of expression and serenity of deportment. Religion and the atmosphere of the church service found its place in the organ-like music used before the battle for prayers and leading into the hymn of thanksgiving. In his extended Episode, Kean drew on nineteenth-century opera techniques, using a procession which built up the anticipation for the arrival of the returning hero; he gave the audience a full, dramatic, musical enactment of an incident that was only briefly alluded to in the original text. Predictably, reflecting the practice of the times, from the opening bars of the Overture to the closing measure that brought down the final curtain and elicited the final applause, the performance was framed, invigorated and emotionally codified by orchestral music. For Kean's audience this was an evening of speech and spectacle integrated and ignited by sound. It was a style of presentation of *Henry V* that pervaded performances for many decades.

When Kean commissioned Isaacson to create a new score (mainly of his own composition), rather than deploy a recycled collection of miscellaneous pieces, it was an important change of approach, although it is not one whose influence entirely endured in England across the wider nineteenth-century theatre-music spectrum. There is a consistency and unity of style, and precision, in the detail of Isaacson's incidental music which denotes an accomplished theatre musician and composer; he created music that was specifically suited to purpose. Kean used the micro details of this music to enhance his interpretation of the text. The pomp and pageantry that surrounded the portrayal of the English king and the English soldiers with sternly effective military maneuvers in 4/4 marches that may be looked on as inevitable, but the 3/4 dance-like fanfares for the

French, and dreamily-relaxed 12/8 serenade that surrounded their court, were unexpectedly powerful signifiers of their differentiated motivation. These examples show music in the hands of Kean was a serious, interpretive and focused theatrical tool.

This scene by scene musical analysis has allowed an acoustic understanding of Kean's production of *Henry V* to be developed and it is not the soundscape that a study based only on documentary sources, other than the score, would necessarily evoke. Taking evidence from the playbills and the preface to Kean's published version of the play where he expounded upon the claimed provenance for his chosen music, it would be reasonable to deduce that the production sustained musically a medieval flavour. However the score shows that Kean succeeded, or imposed this interpretation, only partially. It is inevitable, and not unexpected, that using an Overture, entre'actes, incidental music, climactic curtain music, and shots of colour and invigoration in the underscoring and *melos*, all scored for a fashionable theatre orchestra of strings, woodwind, brass and percussion, that these orchestral features firmly located the work stylistically and predominantly in the nineteenth-century. By introducing an element of old music Kean was experimental and innovative in his approach and no other director of *Henry V* until the early twentieth century has similarly attempted the early music route. Some, including Benson and W. Bridges-Adams, have imitated Kean using the traditional 'Agincourt Song'.¹⁴⁴ With this and other old melodies Kean relaxed the frantic pace of nineteenth-century harmonies, textures and instrumentation, and created a score not of unthinking triumphalism, but one with hints of historical veracity evoked by early music colour contrasts. The ancient sounds of bag-pipes, and pipe and tabour, provided the grubby sounds of the street in stark aural contrast to the purity of the youthful voices of the boys' choir. After the battle the unaccompanied outpouring of the soldiers began unexpectedly quietly, and the overall action was meditatively slowed

¹⁴⁴ W. Bridges Adams, programme, *Henry V*, New Shakespeare Company 1915-16, Bristol Theatre Collection. No music survives but the programme notes refer to the 'Agincourt Song'.

down as he resisted a typical nineteenth-century whipped up tub-thumping victorious ending to the act. These novel and experimental moments were created by Kean's occasional use of ancient music but they did not dominate the whole performance. The eloquent short episodes only briefly took the ear of the audience into modes, melodies and harmonies far removed from the familiar theatrical sound language of their own century.

From the score it is possible to learn about some aspects of the delivery of the text and in certain instances, for example in the underscored passages of the Chorus speeches, to re-imagine the words in the acoustic context in which they were heard. It is also feasible to gauge the pace and timescale of some musically dominated enactments and the consequent forbearance of his audiences. The use of under-stage trumpets was one of Kean's tricks revealed in the score which, studied together with the Harvard prompt book, gave some sense of the precision timing needed to coordinate these effects with the bell pulled from above giving the players their cues. The score provides insight into the weighty and elaborate nature of the tone of the music that framed much of the stage performance; details of arrivals and departures of individuals were etched in brisk fanfares; processions were heard at a distance before a density of tone signified their stately arrival; scenes were portrayed with musical intensity before the curtain rose to reveal gothically-detailed settings.¹⁴⁵ Music was not a slight, scarcely noticed, aspect of this production popped in afterwards to bridge the gaps (although undoubtedly in some instances it served this useful purpose); in its detail, consistency and mode it controlled the audience's response, and it shaped and at times anticipated, the mood of the play's progression. Kean planned his use of music as a key part of his theatrical panorama as he sought to fulfill his didactic mission 'to spread abroad, amongst the

¹⁴⁵ Harvard prompt book. This is liberally illustrated throughout with informal pen and ink drawings showing heavily furnished, gloomy interiors, and battle landscapes with stormy, lowering skies.

multitude... the great cause of civilisation and educational progress'.¹⁴⁶ He was careful to justify the 'introductions made throughout the play', made from 'a desire to render the stage a medium of historical knowledge, as well as an illustration of dramatic poetry'.¹⁴⁷ These 'introductions' (tableaux, dramatic enactments and the lengthy Episode) were scenes of structured music theatre deployed, as his biographer Cole expounds, to 'add his mite to the great cause of civilization and educational progress'.¹⁴⁸ With political grandiloquence The Right Hon. W.E Gladstone, M.P. summed up Kean's achievements in raising the status of drama, as 'the service he has conferred upon the age'.¹⁴⁹ The legacy of Kean's approach, particularly the authority and weight that he gave to his musical inclusions within high-status drama, runs through the later chapters of this study.

One question remains unanswered regarding the handwritten note left in the Folger manuscript. Whilst this requested from Mr Kean the words of a French Drinking Song, no lyric has been found. There is no musical cue anywhere on the score, or in either prompt book, to indicate that Kean supplied the words and that a Drinking Song was inserted. Subsequent actor managers paid particular attention to the introduction of singing and entertainment in the pre-battle French gathering, and the next chapter reveals circumstantial evidence of Calvert using a glee for the French at this point. If *Fill all the Glasses* as explored in the Prologue, had set some seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century precedent for a Drinking Song at the pre-battle French court, Kean was following an historic tradition. It is of some significance that the hand-written note was preserved in the score next to the French pre-battle scene, and when the score was sold this information was left in place. Whilst it shows that Kean discussed giving the French a Drinking Song, no other indicators as yet have emerged to show that he did so.

¹⁴⁶ Kean, *Henry V*, playbill.

¹⁴⁷ Kean, *Henry V*, preface, vii.

¹⁴⁸ Cole, p. 340.

¹⁴⁹ Cole, p. 347.

CHAPTER THREE

CHARLES CALVERT'S *HENRY V* (1872)

‘A powerful and well-selected chorus. A numerous corps de ballet.’¹

The only complete scores of the play, apart from Kean's, to survive from this period are two Charles Calvert's *Henry V* manuscripts of 1872 and 1875. Much of Kean's cut of the text was retained, with the structure and the designs clearly showing the influence of the earlier actor manager (Fig. 3.1). When Calvert's *Henry V* eventually reached London in 1879, audiences with long memories would have found similarities to Kean in the magnificence of the scenery, the opulence of the costumes and heraldry, a female Chorus, fanfares to herald the arrival and departure of royalty, the army of ‘supers’ and the inclusion of an extra-textual, musically-accompanied long Episode. Whilst the set design



Fig. 3.1 Henry's entry in the Episode: set design.²

¹ Charles Calvert, *Henry V*, playbill, Prince's Theatre, Manchester, 16 September 1872. Manchester Arts Library

² Calvert, Commemorative Folio Two. Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive.

was likely to have been produced in advance of the staging, this second version of the same scene (Fig. 3. 2) accompanied a post-performance report.³ The horses, choir boys on the arch and dancing girls with timbrels are clearly an imitation of Kean's staging but



Fig. 3.2 Henry in the Episode with dancing girls

the emotional range of the crowd reaction is more affecting with family reunions taking place.

Calvert cut fewer lines (1200) than Kean (1550) but his overall structure was nevertheless similar. Kean, within a standard framework of early nineteenth-century theatre-music techniques, used elements of historically sourced music to underline his interest in antiquarianism. Calvert rejected the old tunes and neat marches, the funereal austerity of the post-battle anthem, the typical nineteenth-century aspects of rushing passage work in entr'actes and melodramatic crisis chords and refined saccharinely-chromatic melodies; instead he suffused his *Henry V* with the weightier orchestral and choral sound of Italian opera with the emotional coupling to nationalistic fervour and nationhood that, in the mid to late nineteenth century, this popular idiom carried.

³ *The London Illustrated News*, September 1872, p. 383.

Calvert's production of *Henry V*, featuring himself as the eponymous king, opened on 15 September 1872 at the Prince's Theatre, Manchester with a vast company of actors, supers, dancers, singers, and instrumentalists.⁴ The production was popular with Mancunians in a city that was richly endowed with theatres during this period.⁵ It played for an extended run until December 1872 when the pantomime season took over. In 1873 Calvert again recruited nearly two hundred locals as 'supers' for another Autumn run, and in 1874 it played for six weeks in Birmingham before it transferred to New York in the new year.⁶ Alfred Darbyshire, who was closely involved in the production researching details for the armorial designs, delivered a lecture on Calvert to the Manchester Arts Club in 1893 and left an eye-witness account of the excitement created by the production on both sides of the Atlantic.⁷ He described the elaborate and effusive civic send-off Calvert received in Manchester before sailing for America. Although by then a sick man, Calvert worked physically hard on the restaging and he opened at Booth's Theatre on 8 February 1875.⁸ The production was sold to Jarrett and Palmer, American impresarios and Calvert relinquished the role of Henry to George Rignold almost immediately after the play opened. Partway through a successful season in New York, when according to the Boston Herald more than 100,000 saw the play, Rignold was replaced by Lawrence Barrett.⁹ The ousted star was not willing to be displaced from his leading role so when the production transferred to San Francisco he managed to arrive in the city, gather together an *ad hoc*

⁴ 'Charles Alexander Calvert' in *Manchester Celebrities of Music, Theatre and Performing Arts* <<http://www.manchester2002-uk.com/celebs/music-theatre2.html>> [accessed: 22 October 2010].

⁵ Joyce Knowlson, *Red Plush and Gilt: The Heyday of Manchester Theatre During the Victorian and Edwardian Periods* (Manchester: no publishing details, circa 1985). A volume of reproductions of theatrical pictures which are housed in the Manchester Central Library with foreword by David Scase, former Director of Manchester Library and Forum Theatres.

⁶ Mrs Charles Calvert, *Autobiography: Sixty-Eight Years in the Theatre* (London: Mills and Boon, 1911), p. 139.

⁷ Alfred Darbyshire, 'The Calvert Revivals' in Lieut.-Col Fishwick F.S.A., *Shakespearean Addresses: Delivered at the Manchester Arts Club, 1886-1912* (London: Sherratt and Hughes, 1912), pp. 77-101.

⁸ For a general career outline of Mr and Mrs Charles Calvert, see Richard Foulkes, *The Calverts: Actors of Some Importance* (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1992).

⁹ Darbyshire, p. 96.

company, and open with himself in the lead before the train (a four day journey) bringing the Jarrett and Palmer troupe arrived.¹⁰ For a short time both versions of *Henry V* played in competing houses, such was the new-found popularity of the play following the New York season. The pugnacious Rignold soon regained his leading role and the show toured extensively in the USA, and went to Australia. The production returned to England with the dashing mustachioed Rignold at the helm in 1879, where it opened at the Drury Lane Theatre, London and toured for two years.¹¹

This chapter analyses the two sources of music for Calvert's *Henry V* that survive. One was produced in Manchester and the other in America. The music of the Manchester manuscript consists of forty-seven pages of piano reduction included in two magnificently leather-bound volumes presented by Mrs Charles Calvert in 1903 to the Shakespeare Memorial Library, Stratford-upon-Avon. The gift was described as 'Two large folio volumes of materials for the revival of *Henry V* by the late Mr Charles Calvert at Manchester in 1872'.¹² This commemorative music is not a working manuscript. Some sections of the piano reduction indicate textual cues but others are headed with simple descriptions such as 'played as the troops follow the king'. In several places, in pencil, an unknown hand has added 'chorus', indicating choral content, but there are no lyrics and no specific indicators to denote vocal or part-singing, nor precisely when in the play the voices were heard. There are no indications of instrumentation on the piano reductions, yet it is possible to gauge the character from the style of the music, and, in conjunction with a prompt book, to create a basic music script for the Manchester performances. The New

¹⁰ John S. Lindsay, *The Mormons and the Theatre or the History of Theatricals in Utah 1905* (e book: Mormon Books Project, 2011) <<http://bencrowdes.net/books/mtp>> [accessed: 12 October 2012]

¹¹ George Rignold, *Henry V*, programme, 1879-1880, Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, London. Bristol Theatre Collection.

¹² This music will be termed the 'Manchester manuscript'.

York manuscript is of a different order of detail but immediately it is apparent that the same music was used in Manchester and America. The American full orchestral score is signed by the copyist 'Geo. Cooper'.¹³ The original score would have been written by Edward Williams, Calvert's original musical collaborator and musical director; in the practice of the times full scores were not published but copied when productions were replicated in new venues or by new companies. The instrumental requirements are similar to those outlined in Chapter Two for Kean's orchestra, although more strings may have been used when the play was given in a large theatre. This chapter brings together (I believe for the first time) these complementary musical sources which, studied alongside the prompt books from Manchester, and New York, develop our understanding of how Calvert used music.¹⁴ The two music manuscripts also reveal something of how musically the production evolved, changed, and at times, was truncated.

Immediately after the initial launch of his Manchester production in 1872, Calvert published the positive opinions of the press in booklet form for the audience to purchase.¹⁵

One extract from the *Examiner and Times* provides useful information:

The incidental music certainly adds very much to the general effect, and as heretofore Mr Calvert's judicious taste has led him to make selections calculated to intensify the interest of the various scenes, to heighten in several instances the local colouring... There is no idea, of course, of converting the play into a melodrama - in the Italian sense of the word - but simply to accompany the action by music - which, though its place should always be subordinate, might always be in perfect congruity and very effectively has Mr E. Williams arranged what the director selected. The illustrations are taken chiefly from the less familiar works of several well-known Italian composers. Mercadante's *Il Giuramento*, Donizetti's *Parisina*, Rossini's *Tancredi* and Verdi's *Macbeth* are the principal sources of

¹³ This score will be referred to as the 'American score'.

¹⁴ Charles Calvert, *Shakspeare's [sic] Historical Play of Henry the Fifth...by Charles Calvert and Produced under his Direction at the Prince's Theatre, Manchester. September 1872* (Manchester: Alex. Ireland, 1872). Shakespeare Institute Library, pamphlet box 70 and Charles Calvert, *Henry the Fifth: A Historical Play in Five Acts by William Shakespeare. As Produced at Booth's Theatre, New York, February 8 1875* (New York: Robert de Witt, 1875). There are two copies on the Harvard microfilm. Unless stated otherwise, I refer to the copy signed 'James Taylor' on the Harvard microfilm.

¹⁵ Charles Calvert, *Opinions of the Press, Henry the Fifth as Produced under the Direction of Charles Calvert* (Manchester: A. Ireland, 1872), p. 9.

supply. The march from *Tancredi* played at the Seige of Harfleur, and the *Macbeth* music at Agincourt are especially effective. The arrangement of the Psalm *In Exitu* to Mercadante's music, as sung in the episode of the entry into London and during the religious service at Troyes, and the introduction of Macfarren's glee *Who is Sylvia?* in the Dauphin's tent, are also very successful examples of adaptation.

The review reveals that the source of Calvert's music, termed 'the principal sources of supply', was Italian music. The opera sources were mentioned only in the above contemporary press quotation and not mentioned on either score. Identifying the music that Calvert chose and redeployed has been the subject of a detailed search central to the research. In almost all instances the music has been located in an aria or ensemble in one of the four Italian operas – *Tancredi*, *Parisina*, *Il Giuramento* and *Macbeth* – and has been studied in both the original context and in its transplanted place in the play. With the exception of Verdi's *Macbeth* it is music that has fallen out of the repertoire. The English glee 'Who is Sylvia?' has similarly been identified. This chapter explores the musical processes used by Calvert, who made the selections,¹⁶ and Williams, who fulfilled the music director's role of editing the music and turning it into a score and parts suitable for the pit orchestra to perform.¹⁷ The exploration of the opera scores and their libretti has shown that some extracts were chosen for similarity of dramatic setting (murder of a king, bride in waiting, returning triumphant army) whilst others had no evident link and were imported for their innate musical qualities. A performance and publishing history of these little-known operas has been established to consider the possible audience familiarity with the music in its original operatic context or in popular adaptation. The deployment of this 'less familiar' operatic music by Calvert and his musical collaborator Williams was a bold, innovative and successful enterprise.

¹⁶ Charles Calvert, *Henry V*, programme (1872), Prince's Theatre. Manchester, Manchester Arts Library.

¹⁷ For more details on the complex role of music director in Victorian theatre practice see Michael Pisani, 'Music for the Theatre: Style and Function in Incidental Music' in *Victorian and Edwardian Theatre*, ed. by Kerry Powell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2004), pp. 78-81.

In Manchester Williams would have been responsible both for conducting the orchestra and for training and directing the powerful, carefully-selected chorus who were advertised as a feature of the production.¹⁸ When the play re-opened in New York, Mr F. Peterschen, one of Broadway's leading musical directors, replaced Williams on the playbill and in the pit. Frank W. Peterschen was a successful composer of popular songs,¹⁹ and an eminent conductor who from 1863-1865 was musical director at Barnum's American Museum (Fig. 3.3) one of the most glamorous theatres on Broadway.²⁰ At Booth's Theatre in the intervals of *Henry V* he directed a programme of orchestral selections which added to the attraction of the evening's entertainment. It was in the mode found in Britain later in the century, when during a run of a play the orchestra each evening gave a frequently-

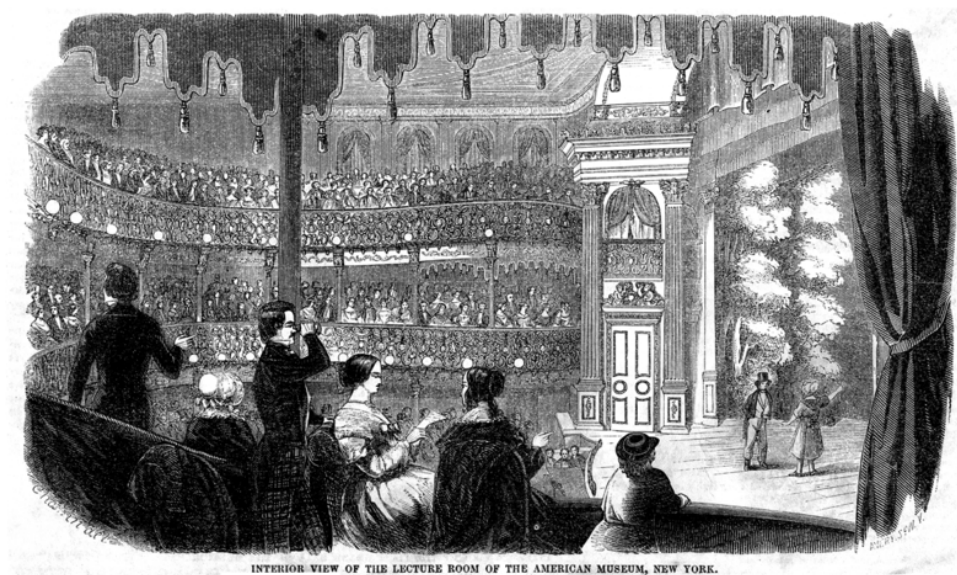


Fig. 3.3 Barnum's American Museum

changed programme of fashionable and demanding music.²¹ This interval entertainment had nothing to do with *Henry V* but the pieces are an indicator of audience taste of the

¹⁸ Charles Calvert, *Henry V*, playbill, Prince's Theatre, Manchester, 1872. Manchester Arts Library.

¹⁹ Frank W. Peterschen's songs and arrangements include 'The Wood Bird' (New York: C. Bunce, 1872) and 'Bessie Barker', headed 'in all the principal theatres in England and America' (New York: Oliver Ditson, 1867). These and many others can be found in Robert Butler Cushman Collection, Washington State University.

²⁰ *The New York Clipper Annual* (New York: Frank Queen, 1892), p. 28.

²¹ Charles Calvert, *Henry V*, playbill, Booth's Theatre, New York, 6 February 1875. Harvester microfilm 24.

times. They included light pieces including *Medley* by Peterschen, *Divertissement: La belle Amazone* by Michaelis, *Polka* by Anteloupe Gung, *Potpurri: Crispino* by Ricci and *Galope: Rose Michael* by Benedict, and more heavy-weight, but equally reflecting fashionable taste, was a sequence of ‘extracts from *La Juive*’, by Jacques François Halévy (1799-1862), a grand opera in the French manner, popular in New York.²² In the mêlée of sounds that was nineteenth-century Broadway, opera had popular audience appeal. Calvert’s choice of the operatic idiom for the incidental music to *Henry V* would have found equal familiarity in New York, as it had in Manchester.

The music in *Henry V* represented a change of style and approach for Calvert. He was a skilled theatre director and manager who understood audiences and the emotional power of sound, an instinct that served him to the end of his career. Earlier, in 1864, when he wanted to stage his first Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, he persuaded the proprietors of the Prince’s Theatre, Manchester to allow him to do so by featuring the new and fashionable music by Sullivan. The choice revealed Calvert’s musical perspicacity and prescience; the score was reused by actor managers for the next fifty years.²³ A traditional *pot pourri* approach served Calvert for *Much Ado about Nothing* (1865), *Antony and Cleopatra* (1866), *The Winter’s Tale* (1869) and *The Merchant of Venice* (1871) until *Henry V* (1872), when he turned to operatic sources. As manager of the Prince’s Theatre, Calvert was familiar with opera, working with home-grown and European artistes who, from the advent of the railways, toured frequently throughout Britain.²⁴ For example, typically to end a season a company performed a different grand opera each night under Calvert’s

²² Alfred Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera 1597-1940* (Cambridge: W. Heffer, 1943), p. 386. *La Juive* continued to be popular in New York after Calvert’s time, being heard in Yiddish (1921) and Russian (1922).

²³ Beerbohm Tree, *The Tempest*, programme (1904).

<<http://www.leeds.ac.uk/English/activities/projects/treestempest>> [accessed: 27 May 2008]

²⁴ Elizabeth Forbes, *Mario and Grisi: A Biography* (London: Victor Gollanz, 1985).

management with a dozen Italian artists joined by the pre-eminent English baritone Charles (later Sir Charles) Santley (1834-1922), and a chorus and orchestra selected from major London Houses and Teatro Beggio, Turin, conducted by the eminent and internationally renowned director Luigi Arditi (1822-1903). The company presented an eclectic mix of Meyerbeer's *Dinorah*, Mozart's *Don Giovanni*, and Flotow's *Martha*. As an added attraction, the Irish melody 'The Last Rose of Summer' was popularly and regularly inserted into the pastoral Act Two of *Martha*; it is an indicator of how nineteenth-century audiences reacted to opera and how successful managers, such as Calvert, interacted with their audiences. It illustrates the nineteenth-century audience's tolerance, even delight, in cross-over effects in the theatre.²⁵ Each evening was mainly one of intense operatic drama yet, it is clear from the playbill, that it finished lightly with the two-handed modish sketch, entitled *Round the Corner* by William Brough featuring the characters 'Flipper' and 'Nobbler'.²⁶ Calvert directed the annual Shakespeare production and the pantomime, equally at ease with a range of what today are frequently segregated styles of theatre. A populist and successful manager, in *Henry V* he created a hybrid of high drama infused with a medium well known to him and popular with his audiences, Italian grand opera.

What follows is a brief performance and publishing history of the operas from which Calvert made his music selections. It reveals their social and theatre-history context, explores elements of the director's theatrical craftsmanship and contributes to an understanding of audience reception of the play in its musical framework. It is difficult to establish how Calvert might have come to be familiar with each work. It is not immediately apparent from their performance history that the theatre-going public, or even

²⁵ H. Rosenthal and J. Warrack, *Concise History of Opera* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 248.

²⁶ Calvert, *Last Three Nights Italian Opera*, playbill Prince's Theatre, Manchester (n. d.). Manchester Arts Library.

Calvert himself, would have seen these four operas. Custom and practice of concert, salon and household performance, and the consequent explosion in the publication of extracts, appear to be significant factors in the dissemination of extracts of this repertoire. The background to this search is the era before video, sound recording, photocopying, and electronic transmission of scores, yet this early nineteenth-century (seemingly almost forgotten) romantic Italian operatic music made the transition in the 1870s into a lavish *Henry V* production in northern England.

The earliest of the operas that Calvert borrowed from was *Tancredi* by Rossini, a formal *opera seria* in the eighteenth-century mode that was premiered at Teatro La Fenice, in Venice in 1813.²⁷ *Tancredi* received its London premier at the King's Theatre, Haymarket in 1820 with subsequent frequent performances between 1822 and 1858. The libretto by Gaetano Rossi (1774-1855), based on the play *Tanocrède* by the enlightenment thinker Voltaire, is set in A.D. 1005 in Syracuse and is a saga of the military endeavour of a returning popular hero.²⁸ Stendhal (1783-1842), assessing the importance of *Tancredi* in his 1824 biography of Rossini, wrote 'We find no sign of martial vigour in Italian music until the appearance of *Tancredi*', adding 'Rossini bursts forth into a heroic vision of modern national idealism'.²⁹ Rossini's music was based on singable driving tunes and *Tancredi* brought him enormous success and fame beyond Italy. He harnessed the military interest that nationalism awakened by the inclusion of triumphal, often choral, marches and the military element gave an impetus to his output. Calvert capitalised on parallel opportunities in *Tancredi* and *Henry V* for military marching music and injected the musical fervour of the Italian Risorgimento into his production. How Calvert in 1872

²⁷ Gioacchino Rossini (1792-1868), *Tancredi*, first performance (1813).

²⁸ John Warrack and Ewan West, *Oxford Dictionary of Opera* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

²⁹ Stendhal, *Life of Rossini*, trans. by Richard N. Coe (New York: Criterion Books, 1985), cited in A. Arblaster, *Viva la Liberty* (London: Verso, 1992), p. 69.

came to know the 1813 work is not easy to gauge. Despite pan-European popularity, *Tancredi* may not ever have been heard in the English provinces, specifically in Manchester.³⁰ According to members of the Donizetti Society, generally the documentation of regional performances opera in nineteenth-century England is weak and therefore listings are not necessarily accurate.³¹ As the opera had dropped out of the standard repertoire in the second half of the nineteenth century it seems unlikely that either Calvert or his audience had seen a staged performance so it seems reasonable to suggest that he knew the work, or parts of it, from other sources.

There is some possibility that Calvert had access to an early vocal score of *Tancredi*. It was first heard in translation in Leipzig (1817) in both German and Italian, and throughout Europe in French, Czech, Polish, Hungarian, English and Russian during the following two decades, and consequently multiple copies of the vocal score were produced.³² Orchestral scores and instrumental parts of the operas were not published but, in the standard practice of the times, these would have been copied when needed. I am indebted to David Ogden, archive assistant at the Royal Opera House, London for sharing his insights into these practices and for the search he made through the current holdings. No original full score of *Tancredi* survives and Ogden confirmed that no original score of the other three works which I go on to explore exists in the archive either. However, Covent Garden archives contain various hand-written *Tancredi* chorus parts from 1821-1858 which are surviving artefacts from performances in London, first at the Haymarket Theatre and later at the Royal Italian Opera, Covent Garden, whilst the survival of a libretto

³⁰ Loewenberg, pp. 313-314.

³¹ Russell Burdekin and Alexander Weatherspoon of the Donizetti Society provided learned and insightful information, and supportive correspondence about all four of Calvert's chosen composers. For details of their research <info@donizettisociety.com> [accessed 3 October 2010]

³² Loewenberg, pp. 313-314.

of *Tancredi* from Liverpool, dated 1834, is suggestive of touring at that time,³³ but no other evidence of performances in the English provinces survives.³⁴ *Tancredi* memorabilia also has disappeared, with no opera posters from London or the provinces in this era surviving. *Tancredi* faded from the London theatres in the second half of the nineteenth-century but the opera left its legacy in the small concert halls, salons, and drawing rooms of middle-class and upper-class England.³⁵ Selections were published for piano, piano duet, voice and piano and variously scored for concertina, guitar, flute and even fife and drum band; the British Library lists over two hundred *Tancredi* derived materials from this period. In a reflection of its continuing popularity, the whole opera was arranged for piano solo and published in 1864, and this arrangement would have made the whole opera accessible to Calvert and his musical director as they prepared for the 1872 production.³⁶

Parisina by Gaetano Donizetti and *Il Giuramento* by Saverio Mercadante share similar backgrounds. *Parisina* was first performed in Florence in 1833 and a vocal score was published the same year in Milan. The opera was staged in London in 1838 and, although it played throughout Europe until the 1890s, there are no traces of further British performances. *Il Giuramento* was premiered in Milan in 1837 where, in the same year, a vocal score was published. The opera reached London in 1840 and was heard widely throughout Europe and America, but it had faded from the repertoire by 1858, although it played in Italy until the early twentieth century. Unlike *Tancredi* neither opera has a plot

³³ Giuseppe Radiciotti, *Gioachino Rossini: vita, documentata, opere ed influenza su l'arte* (Tivoli: Aldo Chicca, 1927), p. 197. Patricia B. Brauner, Coordinator of the Centre for Italian Opera Studies, University of Chicago and managing editor of *Works of Gioachino Rossini* (Harlow: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 2007) took an interest in my Calvert-Rossini searches and kindly made time at home to consult this and other Italian texts for me <humanities.uchicago.edu> [accessed 8 June 2010]

³⁴ Giorgio Fanan, *Drammaturgia Rossiniana: Bibliografia dei Libretti d'Opera ecc* (Rome: Ibbimus, 1997). I am grateful to Patricia B. Brauner for drawing this to my attention.

³⁵ William Weber, *Music and the Middle Class* (London: Croom and Helm, 1975 reprinted Ashgate, 2004). For a discussion of middle-class music making see preface pp. xi-xxxviii.

³⁶ The complete version for piano solo, published for the English speaking market: *Tancredi: Rossini's Opera Arranged for Piano by A. Devaux* (Milan: Ricordi, 1864).

that has any thematic connection with the content of *Henry V*. The librettist Felice Romani (1788-1865) based his work on Byron's *Parisina* (1816) and it is a dramatic story of unintentional incest. The musical setting is decoratively florid and melodramatic. *Il Giuramento* in contrast is a product of Mercadante's attempts to reform opera following a stay in Paris when he was exposed to the work of the German composer, Meyerbeer, who was popularising a grander operatic style. Rossi, Mercadante's librettist, based the plot of *Il Giuramento* on the 1835 play *Angelo, Tyran de Padoue* by Victor Hugo. The opera owed much to a gothic style of melodrama; it has atmospherically dense scenes, an enhanced colouration role for the orchestra and employs less coloratura than *Parisina*, but it is rich in warm Italianate melody and eloquently chromatic harmonies. Reflecting the opera's popularity in the middle of the century, the libretto was published in New York in 1848 headed 'As performed at the Astor Place Italian Opera-House' in a series that celebrated standard classics. An alumnus of Harvard of the class of 1851 presented a copy to the college library in that year, suggesting perhaps an enduring admiration for the work.³⁷

Although gone from the repertoire by the 1850s, both *Parisina* and *Il Giuramento* spawned the usual array of published arrangements. Although both had a lesser legacy than *Tancredi*, the British Library lists thirty-nine arrangements of extracts from *Il Giuramento* and fifty-four from *Parisina* including combinations such as a vocal duet with harp and piano accompaniment, a setting of melodies for violoncello and piano, many vocal settings with piano, and numerous elaborate fantasies on the opera's themes for solo piano. These publications, many from the 1850s-70s, reflect a public appetite for highlights of both operas after they had ceased to be staged. Crucially for Calvert, the whole of the music of

³⁷ Gaetano Rossi, *Il Giuramento: The Oath* (New York: John Douglas, 1848). Harvard College Library, 577 335B. Gift of Samuel Abbott Green, M.D., 1851.

the two operas was republished for the British market in the years 1859-60 arranged by E.F. Rimbault (1816-1876) so *Il Giuramento*, and *Parisina*, like *Tancredi*, were available to him in an accessible piano format.³⁸

The issues surrounding Verdi's *Macbeth* differ from those of the other three. The libretto, based on Shakespeare's play, was by Francesco Maria Piave (1810-1870), a life-long collaborator of Verdi and fellow nationalist. Premiered in Florence in 1847, the vocal score was published by Ricordi in the same year and was republished in French, when it was revised and restaged in Paris in 1865. The opera did not reach the United Kingdom, apart from a short season in Dublin in 1859, until 1938 when it was staged at Glyndebourne. Although the opera was created contemporaneously with Calvert's working life his chances of seeing the work were remote. Members of Calvert's audience may have heard, sung or played some of the numerous arrangements from the opera such as *The Witches Scene*, *Celebrated Brindisi*, *Exiles Chorus* and *Grand March*.³⁹ There were several collections for voice and piano of 'Favourite Airs', oddly taken from a viciously dramatic opera with its tersely characterised melodies and dense, sinuous orchestration. Various fanciful adaptations of Verdi's music such as *Macbeth Galop*, *Macbeth Cavatina*, *Macbeth Divertimento* and *Macbeth Fantaisies Élégantes* were designed to appeal to popular taste; the very young were not overlooked with Rummel's setting *Macbeth... Arranged for Young Pianists* devised for their delectation and edification. Calvert would have been exposed to the popularity of these musical images from *Macbeth* when selecting extracts from the opera. Readily available for his use was an English publication of the

³⁸ Mercadante, Saverio, *Celebrated Opera Il Giuramento: Arranged for the Pianoforte by E. F. Rimbault* (Milan: Ricordi, 1859), and *Parisina, Melo-dramma di Felice: Arranged for the pianoforte by E. F. Rimbault* (Milan: Ricordi, 1860).

³⁹ British Library lists ninety-five entries of adaptations from parts of Verdi's *Macbeth*.

opera arranged for solo piano in 1860 by the prolific Rimbault.⁴⁰ My analysis of Calvert's use of music from Verdi's *Macbeth* will reveal that he had a detailed knowledge of the piece, not only the arias and highlights but he also perspicaciously picked out snippets of textural music that had clearly defined characteristics of mood to fit into his *Henry V* score.

It is important not to underestimate the cultural capital that opera, especially Italian opera, held in England and America during late-nineteenth century. Italian operas were regularly played in Paris, London and New York within a short time after their premiere in Italy. They went on to be performed in innumerable cities throughout Europe, and both North and South America and the northern industrial cities of England - Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds and Liverpool - were hungry for their share. Ros Edwards of Manchester's Henry Watson Music Library, commenting on nineteenth-century programming, offers this reflection on the regional operatic scene in the second half of the nineteenth century:

In concert halls a good deal of operatic music was produced. Programmes of music were much more vocally orientated than they are today. [In] a complete collection of Halle programmes, which began life in 1858...there were many opera arias, duets, overtures, intermezzo performed and nearly every concert had a vocal element often selections from an opera...which would take up a large part of the first or second half of the concert.

The industrial city of Manchester was a productive centre of music making with singing, according to Edwards, one of the major leisure activities. She concludes:

The vast majority of the public in Victorian times were very well educated in operatic music even if they did not often attend operas, probably more aware of opera music than people are today, even with the availability of recorded performances. Many of the arias were the 'pop' music of the day.⁴¹

The sound of operatic melodies and harmonies was not remote or redolent of some elite or

⁴⁰ Giuseppe Verdi, *Verdi's Opera Macbeth, Arranged for the Pianoforte by E. F. Rimbault* (Milan: Ricordi, 1860).

⁴¹ I am grateful to Ros Edwards, Music Co-ordinator, Henry Watson Music Library, Manchester, for detailed correspondence on this issue. < r.edwards@manchester.gov.uk > [accessed 10 December 2008]

outdated genre to Calvert's audiences; he gave them music that was popular in their homes and in the concert hall. This understanding of audience taste, together with a strong commercial instinct and the availability of piano solo reductions of all four operas led Calvert to underpin his portrayal of King Henry V, a heroic national hero, with Italian opera.

The ensuing analysis investigates how Calvert used the music from these four operas. Adding to them only one English sentimental glee, he gambled on the popular appeal of Italian opera and created, aurally, a new world for the setting of the play. He may, in some scenes, have used these pieces to add contextual associations from the operas to his rendering of *Henry V* but in many places he seems simply to have liked the sound of the musical effect. Where there is a possibility of association between the operatic context and the dramatic text (for example in the scenes with the French princess) these have been explored. Quotations from the score of the original opera or from Williams' transcriptions are included to clarify and enhance the analysis of each scene. Some of the extracts reveal the original operatic settings, others illustrate the style of adaptation employed, and they all underline the singularity of the stylistic cohesion of Calvert's choices.

Turning first to the Overture, it was probably Williams who wrote it for the production, when it was first produced in 1872 at the Prince's Theatre. Whilst the Manchester manuscript shows no trace of it, the New York score contains an Overture lasting about five to six minutes. Peterschen, the New York conductor, was probably not the composer; his name, indeed no name, is listed for this composition. It was the practice to add the musical director's name if he also served as composer; for example, Samuel Potter 'composed and arranged' the music for Osmond Tearle's *Henry V* in 1891 and was

also listed in the evening's 'Programme of Music' as composer of the Overture.⁴² Calvert's *Henry V* Overture was probably part of the enduring package transplanted from Manchester to New York in 1875, sold to new owners and copied as part of the full score by George Cooper. Although any acknowledgement of the contribution of Williams by 1875 had disappeared, he was likely to have been the composer of the original Overture.

Thematically the Overture is a brief exposé of some of the themes from Donizetti, Rossini, Mercadante and Verdi. It begins with a formal short chordal *Andante* section, before it moves into a sequence of stylistically diverse themes derived from the operas, each with sturdy orchestration, a change of pace and new key. There is also a brief and musically anachronistic reference to the medieval English melody 'The Agincourt Song',⁴³ token historicism for unlike Kean, Calvert does not use this music elsewhere in the play. All these elements are cobbled together with passage work of the vivacity and panache that was the hall-mark of theatre music. These rabble-rousing passages, especially towards the ending, cause the Overture, which has little coherence of structure, to be the least noteworthy piece in the score. It is the only piece throughout the evening that relies on the compositional qualities of Williams, for elsewhere his role was as an orchestrator. In the Overture he attempted the formidable task of welding together, into some coherent structure, the music of four composers. Not unlike the Isaacson's Overture it lacks musical quality and finesse; the joins are awkward and there is no cohesive development of the material. Elsewhere in the score Williams' adaptations are polished and his professional accomplishments are evident in the work, but this is utilitarian in quality, perhaps an indicator that during the Overture members of the audience habitually were not entirely

⁴² Osmond Tearle, *Henry V*, programme, 7 September 1891. Bristol Theatre Collection.

⁴³ Calvert may like Kean, have consulted Chappell for a traditional melody setting. See William Chappell, *A Collection of English Airs* (London: Woolridge, 1838), p. 25.

settled and focused on listening. The Overture to Calvert's *Henry V*, with its frenzied climatic cadential ending and consequent likely applause served the dramatic function of communicating to the audience that things were about to begin. Calvert shaped this first act, his exposition of the English on home territory, not only by cutting and adapting the text, but by outlining the tenor of action with music that in places shaped the actors' delivery and in others controlled the emotional reaction of the audience. Throughout the act, Calvert extended the emotional bridge between character and listener long after the actor had finished the lines of a scene and he grafted onto the text the powerful and familiar time-based emotional energiser, Italianate music. The Italian operatic style is characterised by strong harmonies defining a clear pulse, richly searing melodies, buoyant surging accompaniments and the urgent highly-charged emotional onslaughts of high tessitura display. Powerful forces of nationalism were at work throughout the world, with suppressed nations regaining their identity, and in Italy these forces found a voice in this serious, but deeply popular, music of composers such as Rossini and Verdi. Calvert grafted this musical link to revolution and the attendant license to take up arms onto his staging of exploits of an English medieval king who also sought to regain his lost foreign lands. Nationalistic passion, and fashion in the form of English and American musical taste, formed an alliance that created a different approach that audiences for Shakespeare had not experienced before.

After the Overture there was a quiet, atmospheric almost whispering *pp* opening somewhat akin to the fragile *pianissimo* of high strings that opens *Aida*,⁴⁴ another archetypal saga of military strife, composed just a year earlier. For this first example of both the score of the original 'Ma negli estremi' (Ex. 3.1a) from the end of Act Three,

⁴⁴ Giuseppe Verdi (1813-1901), *Aida*, first performances Cairo Opera House December 1871.



Ex. 3.1a Original aria 'Ma negli estremi'

Scene One of *Il Giuramento* by Mercadante and the transcription for orchestra (Ex. 3.1b) are included to give an indication of the prowess of Williams as an orchestrator.⁴⁵

The *adagio moderato* setting of the *andante* soprano aria, retains its original key of A flat major, a luscious key choice, but cut the original orchestral introduction to the aria and began with the melody. It is an eloquent and sensitively-scored adaption for full orchestra. In it, cello arpeggiated sextuplets undulate below a narrow, but freely ornamented *cantilena* melody which is given to high woodwind and strings; the chromatic interior lines are sinuous but subdued. These harmonies, changing on each slow beat, pose questions on the ear of where they are leading; each phrase is a succession of unresolved seventh chords which only achieve resolution in a cadence as the next chromatic linking line begins to lead onwards (Ex. 3.1a, bars 1-4).

⁴⁵ In other examples I shall provide either the original opera extract or the transcription. Some extracts from the New York score appear blurred at the side on the micro film of this fragile score.



Ex. 3.1b Transcription for orchestra of 'Ma negli estremi'

Reflective, quiet and very slow, with no hint of militarism, it is a breathy and abstract choice to open *Henry V*. Calvert cannot have wished his audience to have developed an association between the opening of *Henry V* and the dramatic context of the opera aria. In the tragic opera *Il Giuramento* the aria occurs towards the ending when the heroine, Donna Elaisa, sings passionately of her imminent demise. 'Ma negli estremi' is a typical *bel canto* aria of the first half of the nineteenth-century and the lyrics seem inseparable from the melodic expression as it dwells and takes time, reflects and internalises, and yet, when the melody and harmonies are separated from the words and the dramatic context, this transcription for orchestra is effective. From the opening of the action, it is apparent that Calvert rejected the shallowness that pervaded nineteenth-century

theatrical incidental music in favour of the depth of compositional skill of his chosen operatic composers.

Immediately before Mrs Calvert spoke the first Chorus, the music built to a warm and firm climax, and a decorative *rallentando* cadence. Here Williams, through his full and densely scored orchestration, raised the musical temperature and created a *fortissimo* to the setting of the aria which, in the original, dies away in a lingering *pianissimo*. Re-orchestrated into an instrumental *tutti*, this substantial orchestral introduction led into, and matched, Mrs Calvert's powerfully bold Chorus declamation 'O for a muse of fire'. A commentator in *The Manchester Guardian* described her grand style as lacking the 'requisite naturalness and ease to her performance'.⁴⁶ He suggested that as Chorus she needed to address the audience as well as the clouds, and that her 'fire of declamation and classical boldness of gesture' needed to be somewhat modified by 'an occasional reference to the commentary element...which pervades the noble lines which she with so true a sense of their dignity and significance delivers'.⁴⁷ However, the music led powerfully to the incantation 'O for a muse...' and it appears that Mrs Calvert rejected the accustomed gentleness the commentator required of a female performer and, reflecting the superhuman nature of opening lines, projected her voice upwards to a higher presence.

In her autobiography Mrs Calvert described her portrayal of the Chorus being like that in *2 Henry IV* as 'Rumour' and recalled that before Act One she was standing on a rock with a golden trumpet held to her mouth in her right hand,⁴⁸ and she included a picture of herself in Act V wearing a light green draped gown and a floral wreath above her

⁴⁶ *The Manchester Guardian*, 18 September 1872. n. p.

⁴⁷ Mrs Charles Calvert, photograph, Manchester Arts Library.

⁴⁸ Mrs Charles Calvert, *Autobiography: Sixty-eight Years in the Theatre* (London: Mills and Boon, 1911), p. 137.



Fig. 3.4 Mrs Calvert as Chorus 'Rumour'

long flowing hair (Fig. 3.4). Whilst Mrs Kean's 'Muse of History' evoked Queen Victoria, with her crown, dumpy stature and nationalistic colour scheme, Mrs Calvert's 'Rumour' expressed a romanticism that matched the operatic music that surrounded her. With her long tresses, simple gown, determined chin and resolute upward focus, Mrs Calvert looked pre-Raphaelite, and many paintings from this movement, for example *Medea* by Frederic Sandys,⁴⁹ and *The Lady of Shalott* by John William Waterhouse,⁵⁰ feature a similarly strong, contemplative young woman within a naturalistic but quasi-historical setting.⁵¹ Despite the visual linkage with a movement that absorbed medieval influences, musically Calvert chose nothing historical but deployed the densely textured romantic music of

⁴⁹ Frederick Sandys (1829-1904) *Medea* (1869). Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery.

⁵⁰ John William Waterhouse (1849-1917), *The Lady of Shalott* (1888). Tate, London.

⁵¹ John Christian, 'Pre-Raphaelitism in England: 1848-1898' in Stephen Wildman, *Visions of Love and Life* (Virginia: Arts Services International, 1995), pp. 27-67.

Mercadante to create the aural setting for this poeticised, yet powerful, vision of the Chorus. Mrs Calvert may have forcefully rather than sonorously matched the rich orchestral sounds that introduced her, for *The Manchester Guardian* columnist also noted certain ‘peculiarities of intonation’ which occasionally ‘jar upon the ear’. The memory of the rounded tones of Mrs Kean with her surroundings of delicate classical music and décor may have lived on, leading to an expectation of similar treatment from the next female to play the Chorus. Mrs Calvert broke with this well-modulated approach to speech and over-corseted mode of dress; visually and musically, hers was a raw and emotional mode and she may have striven to match this with her enunciation.

Musically, there was a change after the Chorus speech ended ‘For ’tis your thoughts that now must deck our kings...Admit me chorus to this history’ (Chorus 1, 28-32) and as the curtain fell, the opening very quiet section of ‘Ma negli estremi’ was repeated *pianissimo*. It is a moment of metatheatre underlined by music and an antithetical framing of the Chorus by a sensitised musical idiom. Calvert’s construct of ‘Rumour’ adds a layer of artifice to Shakespeare’s prologue, which itself stands outside the plot. Rumour’s final request ‘Admit me chorus ...’ is sheltered by music of intense lyricism from the harsh actuality of the trumpet blasts that herald the arrival of the king, and from the subsequent decisions over war that immediately follow.

Throughout the play, the entrances and exits of King Henry and his entourage are punctuated with short brass fanfares. Like Kean, Calvert omitted Shakespeare’s first scene and began the play in the throne room where, in a cut text, the ambassadors bearing the tennis balls were received and the decision to go to war was made. Immediately after the final line ‘We’ll chide this Dauphin at his father’s door’ (1.2.308) the score states ‘repeat

flourish - segue ditty' and a short simple passage in C major (Ex. 3. 2) followed the king's exit fanfare, taking the action of the play into the second scene (transplanted from 2.1) with Nim, Bardolph and the Hostess outside the Boar's Head in East Cheap.

The word 'ditty' is suggestive of an informal short poem or song so perhaps the men were singing along with the simple melody of the instrumental piece as they came in. This short twelve-bar tune (not located in any of the four operas) with its simplistic harmonies has an ale-house quality, and it was introduced effectively to change the dramatic tone and social status of the action. It is the only moment where Calvert delineates social status in his choice of music. It is a brief example but it is a technique not



Ex. 3.2 'Ditty'

found previously in Kean's score and not until Martin Harvey's 1916 *Henry V*, will another instance of characterisation by class be found.

Like Kean, Calvert transposed the boy's speech 'Young as I am ...I must leave them...I must cast it up' to the end of his second scene after the group took leave of Mistress Quickly to go to the wars.⁵² Whilst Kean evoked their departure with steadily confident, but harmonically predictable martial music, Calvert drew on Verdi's *Macbeth* to provide action music that is resonant of melodrama. He selected a fast agitated *allegro* (Ex. 3.3) which, in the opera, is the moment in Act One when a servant appeared to warn of the arrival of Duncan, and the mental havoc created by the Macbeths' murderous plans becomes musically evident for the first time.⁵³ Calvert utilised this operatic tension, and when the opening *staccato* melody and the *recitative* together with its accompaniment were

21 ALLEGRO $\text{♩} = 96$

p

(Entra un servo)

SERVO *p* LADY

Al ca - der del - la se - rail re qui giun - ge. Che

p

di? Machetto è se - co? Ei l'accom - pa - gna. La nuova, o donna, è

Ex. 3.3 Linking passage from *Macbeth*

⁵² The boy's speech appears variously but Taylor's Oxford *Henry V* follows F: 3.2.26-51

⁵³ Verdi, *Macbeth*, vocal score (London: Ricordi, 1960), p. 41.

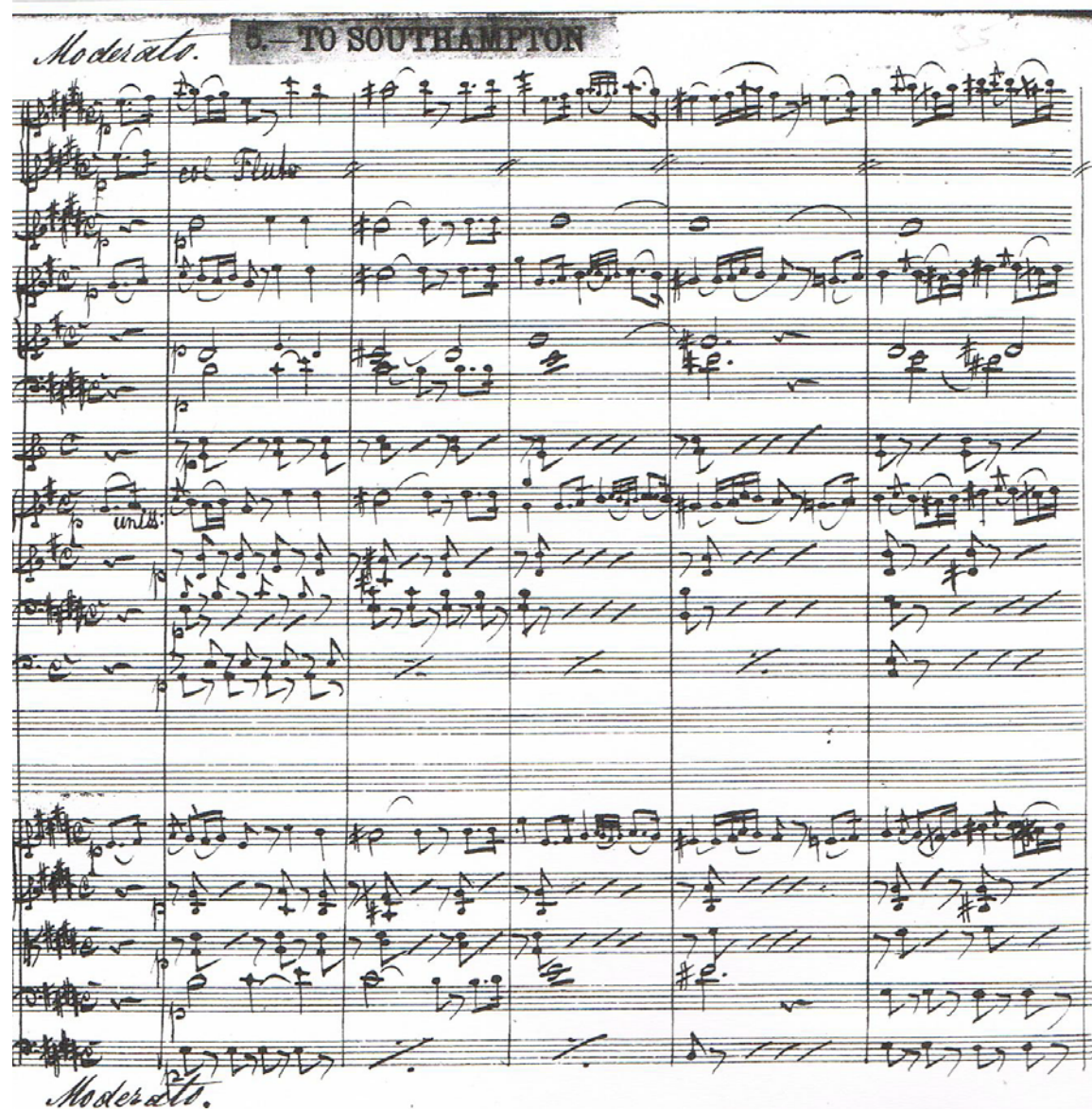
orchestrated, effectively urgent, but subtle, action music resulted. The first few bars of nippy staccato texture accompanied the boy as he quickly exited, and as the passage grew in chromaticism and volume and the instrumental tessitura rose, the agitated and melodramatic climax led (with no break) into the declamation by the Chorus 'Now all the youth of England is on fire'. This music acted as an incendiary to the richly laden language of the Chorus. She described the English scene of 'mercuries', 'crowns imperial' and then, with no underscoring or tableau as in Kean's portrayal, trailed the scene to come of the corrupted knights. Calvert's cut version of the speech thus drew to a close:

The sum is paid; the traitors are agreed,
The king is set from London; and the scene
Is now transported to Southampton. (Chorus II, 33-35)

Mrs Calvert would again have balanced her vocal delivery to lead into another powerful operatic arrangement which swept in 'to change, and open scene 3'.⁵⁴ The pencil markings on the Manchester manuscript provide the only explicit indication of the location of this music and it represented an uninterrupted and free flowing scene change. Calvert used music from Mercadante's *Il Giuramento* for this emotional bridge. It is an orchestral transcription of the heroine Bianca's soprano aria 'Di tua fede bello ognora'.⁵⁵ In the opera Bianca expressed her undying love first in intense quiet tones which soon turned into vigorously flashy *coloratura*; these melodic gymnastics are supported by the tub-thumping and assertive momentum of a driving *um-pah* Italianate bass. The orchestral transcription for *Henry V* (Ex. 3.4) captures the passion of the soprano aria with high *divisi* first violins doubling flutes/oboes/clarinets in music that swirls to an end and leads to Scene 3 of Calvert's first act and the departure scene at Southampton. With his carefully chosen operatic excerpts Calvert underpinned the developing emotional climate of the act.

⁵⁴ Calvert, Manchester manuscript.

⁵⁵ Mercadante, *Il Giuramento*, vocal score (Milan: Ricordi, 1841), p. 91.



Ex. 3.4 Orchestral transcription of 'Di tua fede bello ognora'

Calvert used a severely pruned text of the arraignment and dismissal of the conspirators (2.1.12-178) and the king's peroration 'Now lords for France' (2.1.179-188) to end the act. He concluded with the lines 'Let us deliver/ Our puissance into the hand of



Ex. 3.5 The 'big tune' from *Parisina* signals the departure to France

God,/ Putting *it straight in expedition*' (music cue: my italics) and here at the climax of the act a buoyant operatic march took over the attention and emotions of the audience for some time after the speech had finished. Calvert utilised the final sixty-four bars of Donizetti's *Overture to Parisiana* and, on the music cue 'straight in expedition', the orchestra burst forth into this *fortissimo* march (Ex. 3.5) which in its original context of the opera overture, was the final grand statement of the big tune; it was the ultimate crowd pleaser. It is of the kind that stirred the nationalistic fervour of Italian audiences in the early and mid nineteenth century. Such marches, a genre by 1872 well known throughout the western world, were associated with valiant campaigns and attractive, heroic and often in the denouement, romantically-attached victors.

After the Donizetti linking music, a utilitarian brass flourish followed to open Act Two in the palace of the French king (2.4). In a truncated text, Calvert cut references to the past wars with England which had left parts of France ‘sick’ (9-22) and to the ‘much too memorable shame’ of Crecy (45-64), and thus he created a scene that was dominated by Exeter, the English ambassador, and his exhortation to lay aside the present claims to the throne of France. The language is vehement: ‘Bloody constraint; for if you hide the crown / Even in your hearts, there will he rake for it’ and the threat was physically embodied on stage, by ‘all the English party’ and ‘all the soldiers’.⁵⁶ The English departed leaving the French grouped around their king and, as the curtain fell, visceral music from Verdi’s *Macbeth* swept over the scene.⁵⁷ There are three elements to this passage: a short bold E major march which begins with a firm, heroic, Italianate melody (Ex. 3.6), which soon breaks into a short second section of tense chromatic tension before the harmonic diffusion of a quiet, terse ending.



Ex. 3.6 ‘Il mio pensiero’ from *Macbeth*

In the opera this music is a short passage beginning ‘Il mio pensiero in gombra no’ when Banquo, protecting his young son Fleance, expresses the horror of their potential murder

⁵⁶ Calvert prompt book, p. 26.

⁵⁷ Verdi, *Macbeth*, vocal score (Milan: Ricordi, 1865), p. 125.

and, terrified, the pair hide. The details of this operatic setting illustrate Calvert's perspicacious selection facility. He deftly selected this snippet of music from a complex through-composed scene and chose a moment when the musical temperature was high. The dramatic relevance of his reuse of the music may be analysed thus: the short emotionally-charged flight for cover of father and son (fear in the French camp as they gather around their king) and the tense *pianissimo* ending accompanies Banquo and Fleance as they hide (end of scene as the Chorus appears).

In the following sequence Calvert used Chorus Three as a dramatic lead into 'Once more unto the breach' (3.1.1-34). Study of the score illuminates aspects of the theatrical processes of this episode in the production. After the terse quiet ending of the Macbeth music outlined led into the Chorus 'Thus with imagin'd wing our swift scene flies...'. The music was quiet and slow as Mrs Calvert began her appeal to the imagination of her audience. All of Calvert's Chorus speeches were delivered, unlike those of Kean, without underscoring or musical interruption, and as images of activity ('ship-boys climbing', 'Breasting the lofty surge', 'Follow, follow/ grapple your minds to sternage of this navy', 'Work, work, your thoughts') flooded the verse she may have used her 'fire of declamation' and her 'boldness of gesture' to aggrandise the scene. Calvert cut lines which held back this momentum, for example 'suppose...the King doth offer him/Catherine his daughter', dispensed with the final metatheatrical couplet 'Still be kind/And eke out our performance with your mind', and with a contraction of lines 26-34, he brought the speech to a climax:

Behold the ordnance on their carriages,
With fatal mouths gaping on girded Harfleur
The nimble gunner
With linstock now the devilish cannon touches,
And down *goes all before them.* (my italics: music cue)

Without interruption, fast urgent music (twelve pages of the orchestral score), led straight into Henry's address to his army before the breach at Harfleur. This extract (Ex. 3.7 below) is taken from a middle section of a through-composed crisis moment in *Parisina*, 'Ah repente,' from Act Two, Scene Two, when the crowd of female and male voices express their anxiety in a fast, triple time, one-in-a-bar section.⁵⁸ This example taken from Calvert's transcription showing the *D.S. Dal Segno* sign (D.S. is an abbreviation of *Dal Segno* meaning 'go back to the beginning of the piece and repeat to the sign'). In other words there was still lots more music potentially to be played, but it also shows the imperative reminder and directive scribbled on the conducting score 'look out when King ready to speak STOP'. It was the responsibility of the musical director to synchronise the music with the arrival of King Henry, and he would stop the orchestra mid-action when the dramatic moment occurred. Transcribed for orchestra, Calvert used this passage to capture the urgency, noise and confusion of warfare; it was a different emotional language from the signifier of formal institutional marching music used by Kean at this moment in the play. The length of Calvert's Donizetti extract provided time for the huge army of extras to muster (some boosting the apparent numbers of the crowded scene by carrying at their side canvas models of archers), and the four guns (situated down-stage right), to be prepared.⁵⁹ This was the moment for the speech 'Once more unto the breach' and at the climactic ending of the speech, on the music cue 'God for Harry! *England and St George!*' (my italics: music cue), twenty *tutti* bars, vigorously dominated by brass fanfares, accompanied the charge into the breach.

⁵⁸ Donizetti, *Parisina*, vocal score, p. 157-158.

⁵⁹ For diagrams of Calvert's stage layout see prompt book, p. 47.

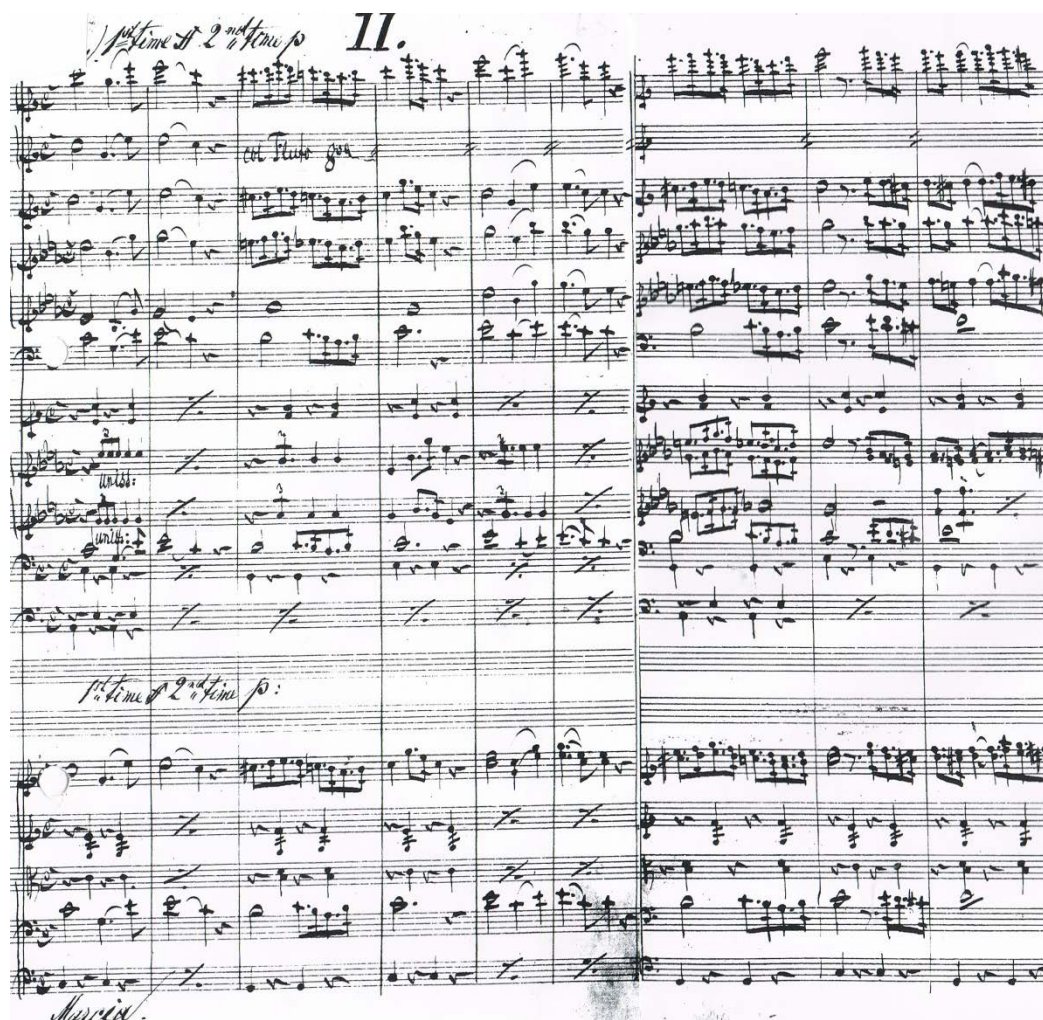


Ex. 3.7 Music before Harfleur

This led immediately into the next scene, a conflation of Act Two, Scenes Two and Three, which begins with Pistol and company contemplating the breach and ends with the entry into Harfleur and the music of conquest (3.2.1-15 and 3.3.1-139). This long section included sound effects of the noise of gunfire, intermittent shouts and fanfares that preceded a parley; all this created a hectic noisy battle sequence. Shakespeare's text of a short song for Pistol and the boy (3.2.6-18) is partially retained but there is no indication that the pair sang; indeed the prompt book indicates that guns, shouts and clashing of swords occurred throughout this passage and the lines were probably bellowed at the height

of the battle. The intimacy of a two-handed song between soldier and boy would have defused the volume and emotional assault on the senses that was Calvert's representation of the scene. After the governor of Harfleur surrendered, the king showed compassion for the losers 'Open your gates...Use mercy to them all...Tomorrow for the march are we addressed' (3.3.131-139) and on the cue 'are we addressed' a victory march was played; it was Calvert's most populist choice so far.

The victory march, taken from *Tancredi* (Ex. 3.8) is a bold soaring melody set in



Ex. 3.8 Victory march from *Tancredi*

C major, most composers' choice of key when a straightforward, rousing effect is required.

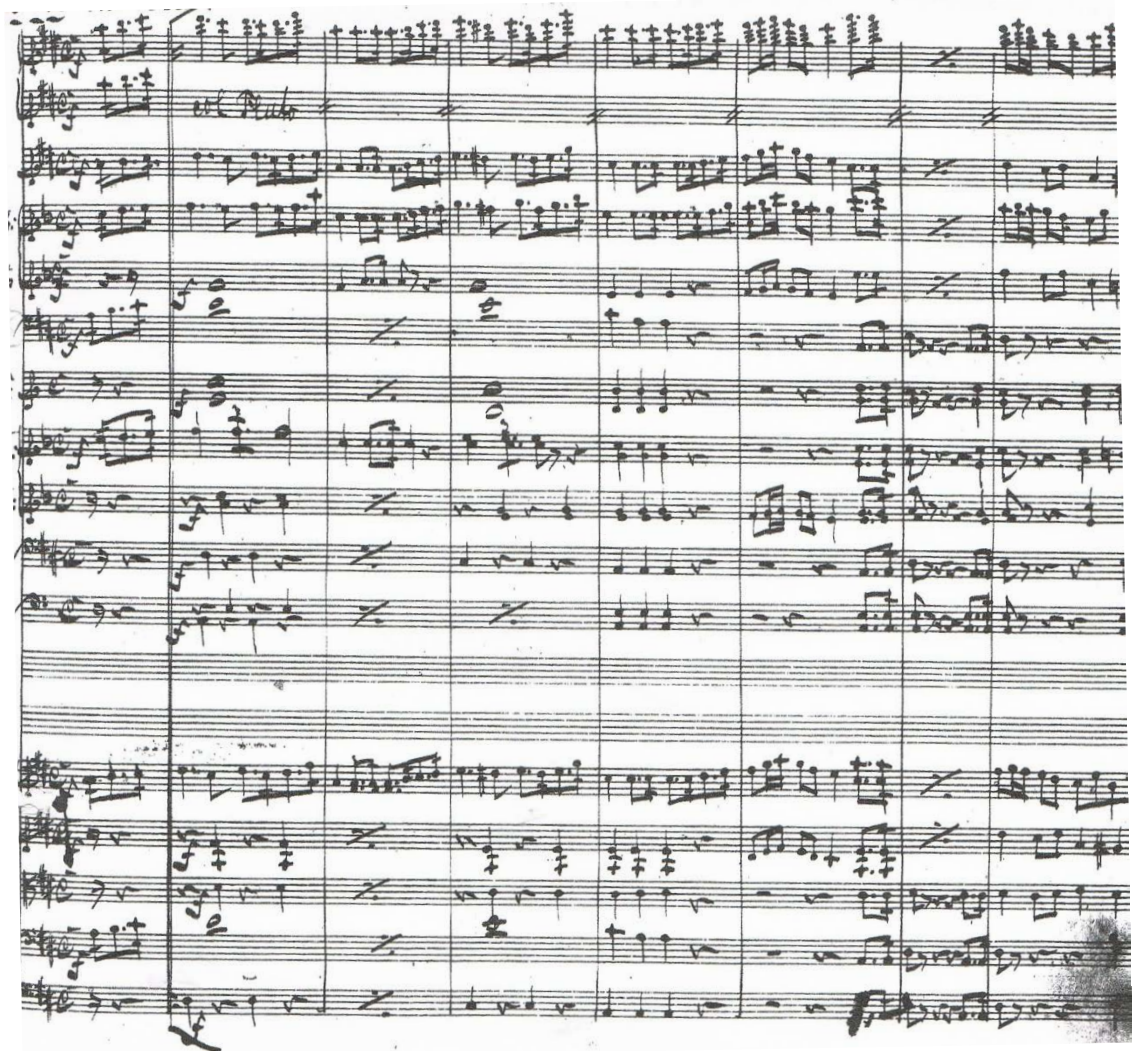
Williams' scoring lends the tone akin to that of a modern victory-celebrating football crowd in full voice by giving the unison tune to all sections of the orchestra from high woodwind, to rich trombones and cellos; played *fortissimo*, supported by glamorous triplets in brass fanfares and insistent drums and bass, this would have created a huge but uncomplicated sound; a reaffirmation of victory with no thought to the consequences. It was one of the pieces of music quoted by Calvert in his *Opinions of the Press* that *The Examiner* and *Times* specifically identified as 'especially effective'.⁶⁰ It may be imagined that the audience mentally sang along or tapped their feet to this very familiar piece. There is no indicator on the manuscript that the army sang this intensely vocal melody; words for singing routinely were not included on orchestral scores or in prompt books. The prompt book states that at the scene end 'The English Army enter[ed] the Town through the breach' and the manuscript indications show that the long piece of marching music was repeated quietly. Presumably this section accompanied the troops as they exited into the distance. Had this been opera, the army would have faced the audience and sung about entering the breach. Calvert explored his subject with the visual and dramatic reality not possible in grand opera, but nevertheless he gave his audience an English victory laden with the musical enhancement of raw Italianate operatic nationalism. Musically there is no ambiguity in the character and actions of the king. The scene begins and ends with rousing heroic material and aurally does not acknowledge the complexities of kingship. The king's rhetoric to the governor of Harfleur with the prospects of the defilement of shrill-shrieking daughters, the killing of silver-haired old men and the mowing down of flowering infants is not an aspect of the king's tactics that is musically acknowledged. Calvert, in his score, ignores the subtleties of Shakespeare's text which explores the nature of an amoral invader, and the musical choices surrounding Henry's actions express unrefined exuberance.

⁶⁰ Calvert, *Opinions of the Press*, p. 9.

The next scene is usually Princess Katherine's English lesson with its attendant contrast in dramatic tone but this was transferred by Calvert to Act Five. Therefore as the entering-the-breach music ended, the following scene (3.5), opened in the French Palace of King Charles in Rouen. This scene was shortened with the adverse references to England and the English (1-35) largely eliminated, although Calvert's version of the text is not as pallid as that of Kean. Calvert cut King Charles' worried opening line 'Tis certain he hath passed the River Somme' and began with a disparaging passage (11-15) which demonstrated a confident French mood before they dispatched Mountjoy to the English camp:

Burgundy. Mort de ma vie! If they march along
Unfought withal, but I will sell my dukedom,
To buy a slobbery and a dirty farm
In that nook-shotten isle of Albion.
Constable. Dieu de batailles! Where have they this mettle?

As the shortened scene ended with the French King's certain anticipation of 'England's fall' (67-68) this was the signal for another Rossini march, 'Plaudite o Popoli' from *Tancredi*. 'Plaudite o Popoli' is less overtly populist in tone than the previous march, although it was well-known to audiences and performers in Victorian Britain. In the opera the neat tight melodic line is lightly scored in the introduction for high woodwind, a setting that has a hint of classical sophistication (Ex. 3.9 below). With a formal ternary (ABA) structure it has a contrasting lyrically-smooth middle section before a return to the opening dotted-rhythm motif. Beneath the instrumental melody a male chorus in four parts sang drum-like low chords, providing an underlying tonal support and the sound effects of marching; it is a choral style frequently employed in early nineteenth-century opera to generate the aura of a masculine fraternity.



Ex. 3.9 Rossini's 'Plaudite o Populo'

Williams rescored the march so that it was effective with or without voices and Calvert used this music for martial scenes of both the opposing sides. After intervening encounters in the English camp between Gower, Fluellen and King Henry, and the arrival of Montjoy and the consequent French demand of a ransom, the vocal version of 'Plaudite o Popoli' ended Calvert's second act (3.6.1-171). He underscored these concluding lines *ppp* whilst the king was speaking and then it was repeated *fortissimo* at the conclusion of the speech:

We are in God's hand, *brother, not in theirs.* (my italics: music cue)
 March to the bridge. It now draws toward night.
 Beyond the river we'll encamp ourselves,

And on tomorrow bid them march away. (3.6.168-171)

There were boys singing, standing at the right of the stage,⁶¹ and as the vocal parts were originally scored in four parts, it seems probable that the soldiers sang too. If Calvert reused the words from 'Plaudite o Popoli' they fitted with banality the dramatic situation; the Italian text translates as follows:

Cheer the victor O people
Let your songs praise him
Valour, The great hero of our time,
Your glory should make you
Cheerful and proud
Happiness should descend upon your heart.

It is not difficult to imagine that the young boy's voices gave the audience a frisson of pleasure, perhaps subconsciously linking the sound of choristers to the king's religiosity 'We are in God's hand'. Despite the king's inhumane rhetoric in his confrontation with the Governor of Harfleur earlier in the act, as the interval began the audience was left aurally with a warm glow of satisfaction. The heroism of the English monarch was evoked not only by the text, but by the extended impact of emotively heartwarming music.

A delicate barcarolle-style *larghetto* opened Act Three and injected a completely new musical aura. Just nine bars quietly introduced Mrs Calvert who, on a cloud bank, delivered the Chorus 'Now entertain conjecture of a time' (Chorus 4).⁶² The piece was reused in a longer vocal version sung by the page boys both before and after the following scene in the Dauphin's tent (3.7.1-151). Taken from Act Three of Mercadante's *Il Giuramento*, the music is an intimate duet, 'Dolce conforto al misero' between two heroines as they share confidences (Ex. 3.10). In translation the words 'Sweet comfort to

⁶¹ Calvert prompt book, signed 'George Becks', n. p., Folger Library, microfilm 24.

⁶² 'Becks' prompt book, n. p. n.



Ex. 3.10 Page boys of the Dauphin sang 'Dolce conforto'

wretched who suffer without hope' do not appear to match the tension-free mood which developed in the Dauphin's headquarters; it must be presumed the boys either sang other words or sang in Italian. Melodically it is delicately ornate with flicking *acciaccaturas*, luxurious in the close harmony of the two vocal lines and set in the languorous relaxed 9/8 compound time. This time-signature, one that signifies three beats each divided by three, is the least militaristic that Calvert could select (it is the time signature frequently used for gondola serenades) to complement the stage setting for the luxuriously-appointed Dauphin's cerise pink tent (Fig. 3.5).⁶³ Until this moment the medieval world had been presented in ochre and other muted shades, broken only by the rich formal trappings of

⁶³ Calvert, Commemorative Folio Two. Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive. The colour (somewhat yellowish in tinge) in this reproduction is not faithful to the rose pink of the original.

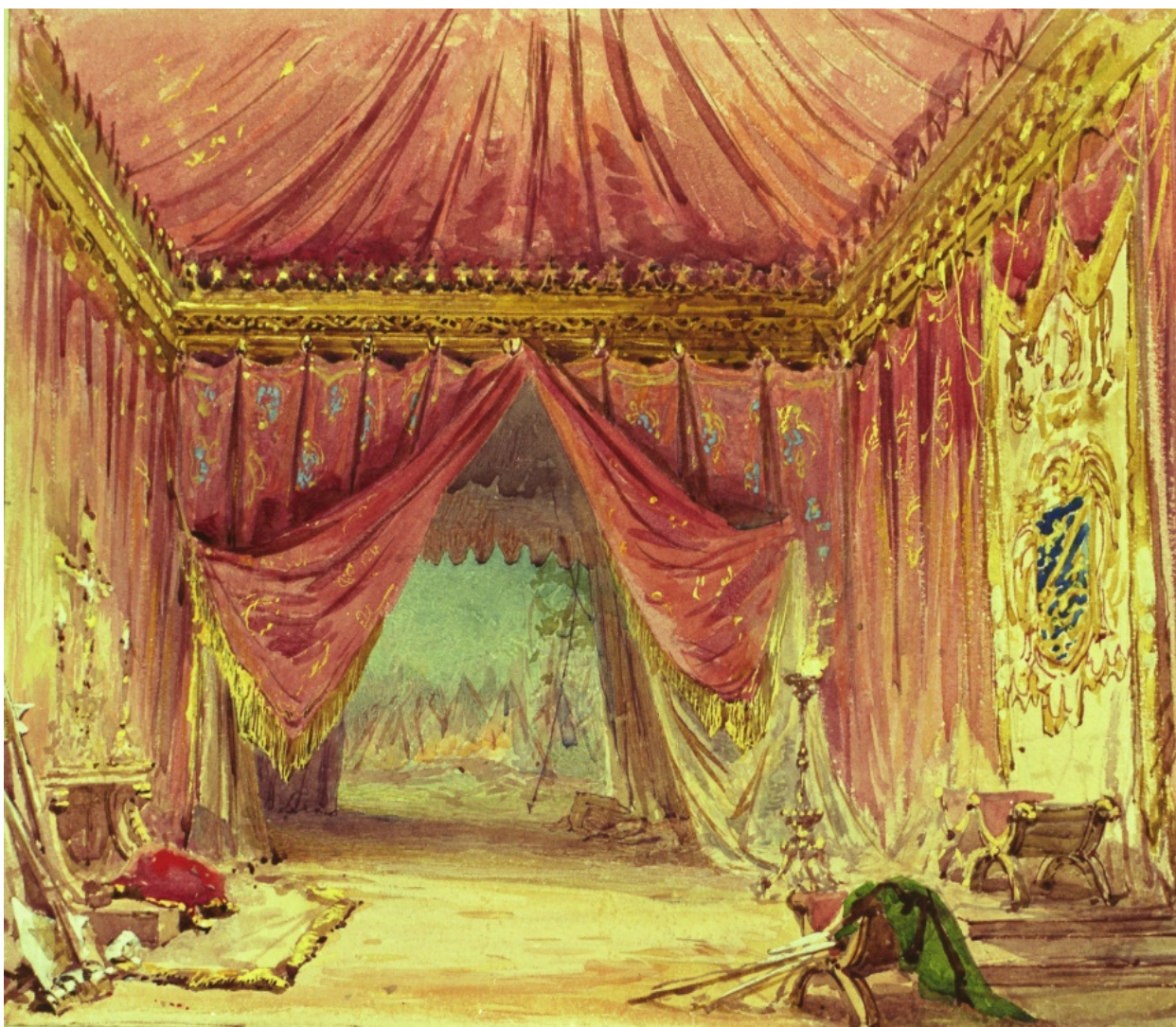


Fig. 3.5 Set design for Dauphin's pink tent

state in the palaces. Now the eye was witness to an orgy of pink with draping folds around the entrance, cushions, rugs, ornamented walls and an opulently-pleated fabric ceiling. It has elements of the fussiness of Victorian interior design and little except the shield that is medieval in tone. The page boys were singing the undulating two-part serenade, with its eloquent instrumental accompaniment of strings and woodwind, as the scene of pink-encrusted luxury was revealed.⁶⁴ This style of music ornamented many Victorian drawing

⁶⁴ I am grateful to delegates at the recent *Shakespeare, Music and Performance*, International Conference at Shakespeare's Globe (London 3-5 May 2013), for an informal discussion which explored the symbolism of pink and the concept, paradoxical in the twenty-first century, that pink, in the nineteenth century, was the

rooms and the audience would have been totally familiar with the idiom if not the actual piece. Placed in the military context of the battle field, this sonorous and tranquil music, together with the prettified and ornamented design, sent a powerful antithetical message of decadence, indolence and the absence of urgency or fear of warfare. The Harvard prompt book gives a detailed description of the activities within the scene:

Interior of the French Dauphin's tent. Drapery drawn aside, making an opening, c, through which a view of the French camp is obtained. Lights well down. Tables R. and L. upon which are flagons of wine, dice-boxes, and dice... The Dauphin, Orleans, and others are seated about table, R., drinking and throwing dice.⁶⁵

The accompanying diagram shows the position of the boys (the pages) as they stood down-stage right to sing. On the conductor's score (there is the handwriting of several conductors on the score suggesting it was used for a number of years) one musical director has marked 'voce' as a reminder to bring in and assist the boy singers at the start of each new phrase. The Harvard prompt book indicates that the boys also sang in the middle of the scene; it states 'As Dauphin exits pages sing Chorus – after which Constable and Orleans speak'. On the Manchester manuscript, pencil markings at the top of the piece state 'with vocals' and at the end 'cl. Scene 1 with vocals'. Taken together, this is strong evidence of the importance of music and singing in the scene, but again, there are no actual vocal lines indicated on the conductor's score.

Next there was glee singing in the Dauphin's tent scene. *The Examiner and Times* columnist in 1872 appreciated the 'introduction' of Macfarren's glee 'Who is Sylvia?' into the scene stating that it was a 'very successful' example of 'adaptation', seemingly untroubled by the transplantation of a lyric from *Two Gentlemen of Verona* (4.2.38-53) into *Henry V*. Such borrowings in this period were not unusual. Berlioz in his mammoth two-

colour for boys, much as blue is now. It tied the singing of the trebles to a boyish pink décor that spoke of immaturity and unmanliness.

⁶⁵ Calvert, prompt book.

part opera *Les Troyens* (1867) inserted Jessica and Lorenzo's lines 'On such a night' from *The Merchant of Venice* (5.1.7-30) into his libretto which otherwise was derived from the books of the *Aeneid*; with this infusion of Shakespeare he created '*par une telle nuit*' described by Harewood as 'incomparable...one of the finest in all opera'.⁶⁶ Returning to 'Who is Sylvia?', it is not entirely clear what the columnist meant by the term 'adaptation' in this context. The term 'glee' refers not to a mood but to part songs sung (often in clubs) by upper-class men. Glee clubs were fashionably thriving in Northern England in Calvert's era and the Gentlemen's Glee Club gave regular concerts in Manchester in the Gentlemen's Concert Hall.⁶⁷ The first glee club was formed at Harrow School in 1789 and the association with wealth and available leisure persisted as this early nineteenth-century writer revealed:

In public and private music, glees still hold a prominent place...Common property of the most elegant society...the spirit of conviviality unpolluted by indecency and intemperance.⁶⁸

The English audiences for *Henry V* would have associated the glee with male togetherness and conviviality, and the singing of glees would equally have been a familiar concept to American audiences where, for example, the Harvard Glee club was founded in 1858.⁶⁹ The composer of the glee, Sir George Alexander Macfarren (1813-1887) was popular with the Victorian public.⁷⁰ Although now largely forgotten, Macfarren was a teacher at the Royal Academy of Music and a successful, prolific and well-published composer of

⁶⁶ Gustav Kobbé, *Kobbé's Complete Opera Guide* (1919) ed. by the Earl of Harewood (London: Bodley Head, 1992), p. 613.

⁶⁷ For programme details see AHRC Research on Concert programmes (1786-1943). <www.concertprogrammes.org.uk> [accessed 2 March 2011] For an illustration of The Gentlemen's Concert Hall see Knowlson, *Red Plush and Gilt*, (n. p.).

⁶⁸ Richard Mackenzie Bacon, 'The Catch and Glee Clubs', *The Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review*, VII (1820), 324.

⁶⁹ For history of The Harvard Glee Club and to experience the traditional sound of glee singing performed by their current ensemble <hgc@hcs.harvard.edu> [accessed 20 March 2011].

⁷⁰ For details of Macfarren's career see Russell Burdekin, 'Sir George Alexander Macfarren, his Life and his Opera' *British Music: The Journal of the British Music Society*, 32 (2010), 84-108.

instrumental music, opera and part songs. He wrote a set of seven part-song settings of Shakespeare songs, one of which, ‘Who is Sylvia?’ is included here in a modern publication of the original setting (Ex. 3.11). Russell Burdekin, Macfarren’s biographer, suggests that it is

The image shows a page from a musical score for 'Who is Sylvia?' by George Macfarren. The score is for a four-part setting (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and piano accompaniment. It is titled 'Shakespeare Songs, No. 3.' and 'Two Gentlemen of Verona - Act IV, Scene 2'. The tempo is 'Andante con moto, cresc. dim.' The lyrics are: 'Who is Syl - via? what is she, That all our swains commend her? Ho - ly, fair, and wise is she: The heav'n's such grace did lend her, That'.

Ex. 3.11 Glee ‘Who is Sylvia?’

this part song, the composer’s only setting of ‘Who is Sylvia?’, that is the adaptation to which the columnist referred.⁷¹ Burdekin describes the setting as fey and effete adding: ‘it would suggest a French army who weren’t quite in touch with reality and had given themselves over to entertainment rather than the job in hand’.⁷²

⁷¹ George MacFarren, Glee ‘Who is Sylvia’, in *Novello Part –Song Book* (London: Novello, circa 1944), p. 90.

⁷² I am grateful to Russell Burdekin for thoughtful correspondence concerning Macfarren’s compositions.

The modern edition includes a piano accompaniment for rehearsal but this is not essential as it simply doubles the voices, and when performed unaccompanied the piece is a lively, sentimental glee. The only specific reference is a directive in the hand of the amanuensis Cooper, on the New York score where, immediately after the 9/8 opening (discussed earlier), it states ‘segue to French Glee’. This is not a scribbled note but forms part of the formal directions on the complete score. Whether Shakespeare’s words ‘Who is Sylvia?’ were sung by the Dauphin’s courtiers or even in French translation is not stated. The descriptor ‘French glee’ on this cue remains ambiguous but it suggests that the tent was the setting for a performance in the fashionable glee-club manner and doubtless the singers engaged to augment the cast would have had the skills to sing in four-part close harmony. It is one of the rare moments in this production when Calvert deviated from Italian opera. Anachronistically (and effectively in the eyes of one contemporary press man) he used traditional glee singing, a nineteenth-century activity of the English-speaking hierarchy, to characterise the elite French at leisure.

One other ambiguity in this scene at this post-glee moment remains. A decoratively lively *andantino* in 3/8 occurs after the glee before the text of the scene commenced (Ex. 3.12 below). The melodic texture, which skips rapidly across a two-octave range, indicates that it is not choral music and although fast, it would have lasted two to three minutes. There is no directive on either manuscript or on the prompt book to indicate what happened on stage during this energetic music. The lively character of the piece of music suggests that it would have been suitable for dancers to entertain the dice-playing courtiers before they began their discussions. Calvert’s original playbill boasted ‘numerous corps de ballet’ and it seems unrealistic to suggest that a group of dancers was employed only to appear once during the evening, later in the Episode.



Ex. 3.12 Delicate dance music in the Dauphin's tent

Research outlined in the next chapter reveals that subsequent productions in the Victorian and Edwardian eras used a song and dance sequence at this point in the play, to entertain the Dauphin and his entourage. The boys singing the 9/8 barcarolle setting, followed by the sentimental glee rendering of 'Who is Sylvia?' and an exhibition of nimble dancing appear to have established this trend. In relaxed mode in the following text, the Dauphin and his courtiers vied to brag about their armour (3.7.1-150) and originally (although eventually cut) the glee was sung again after their confident assertion that 'by ten/ We shall have each a hundred Englishmen' (149-150). Music was used in this act by Calvert to underpin characterisation. Whilst the English approached the task of warfare with seriousness of purpose, the French nobility, over confident and verbose, allowed their concentration to be distracted by amusements. This sequence of music is an interpretation that built on, and in

this scene exaggerated, that developed by Kean, who contemplated a 'Drinking Song' at this point. It is worth noting that although Kean gave triple-time fanfares and incidental music to the French throughout the play, it was a stylisation that Calvert did not copy.

There has been some discussion by twentieth-century theatre historians of Calvert's interpretation of the French, and Smith has suggested that they were 'victims rather than arrogant enemies'.⁷³ The study of the scores from *Henry V* however reveals a conflicting interpretation of the French, for musically the Dauphin and his courtiers are not portrayed as 'victims'. There is arrogance in the attitude of leaders who spend the night before battle in indolent pleasure. They drank and played dice, lulled by serenading boys and bonded in their male glee-singing of 'Who is Sylvia?' and they were entertained by flimsily-clad dancing girls (as the victorious King Henry was to be in the Episode) and thought of war only in terms of bragging about their horses' prowess. Whilst the horrors of war are, as Smith suggests, retained in the action of the play and in the graphic detail of the tableau, I suggest that overall, the text of the French scenes is wrapped in a dominating aural framework that evokes a relaxed self-congratulatory confidence. The production speaks to the audience of a Franco-phobia that portrays the French courtiers as indolent, not distracted from their pleasures and unperturbed by the prospect of battle. Calvert's English are portrayed as straightforward warriors. They displayed less anxiety than Kean's English army who were worthy godly souls who prayed to subdued organ sounds before the battle; Calvert's English army (at least in the Manchester version) bounded into battle with a deft 6/8 rhythm. The soldiers were equally ebullient as they left the battle to return to England, when they were joined by a chorus of monks perhaps reminding the audience that God was on the English side, and together they sang with the surging self-satisfaction of 'happy'

⁷³ Smith, p. 31.

men. The battle was over and they celebrated a job well done, operatically, in full-blooded music which borrowed the nationalism of the Italian Risorgimento. This vivid characterisation of the contrast between the armies is achieved by the infusion of lyrically relaxed Italianate serenade music for the French party, in contrast to the richly-surgingly and extended grand opera chorus sung by the English, as they left Agincourt. To suggest that the French were victims, and that Calvert's production was perhaps the first to discover what Trevor Nunn a century later termed a 'hidden anti-war play, within the popular heroics',⁷⁴ is a view that may be significantly modified by the study of these scores.

As a shortened repeat of the 9/8 music was played, the setting changed immediately from the Dauphin's pink tent and moved into the English lines. In a long scene, uninterrupted by music, the king, in a borrowed cloak, met Bates and company and debated with them the issues of kingship, before dwelling on it in his long soliloquy 'Upon the king' (4.1.218-272). As the scene ended, and Henry offered up prayers of remorse 'O God of battles' (4.1.277-293) for the death of Richard II, and when he determined on action, finally, music was used.

King Henry. Five hundred poor I have in yearly pay,
Who twice a day their withered hands hold up
Toward Heaven, to pardon blood; and I have built
Two chantries, where the sad and solemn priests
Sing still for Richard's soul. *More will I do.* (my italics: music cue)

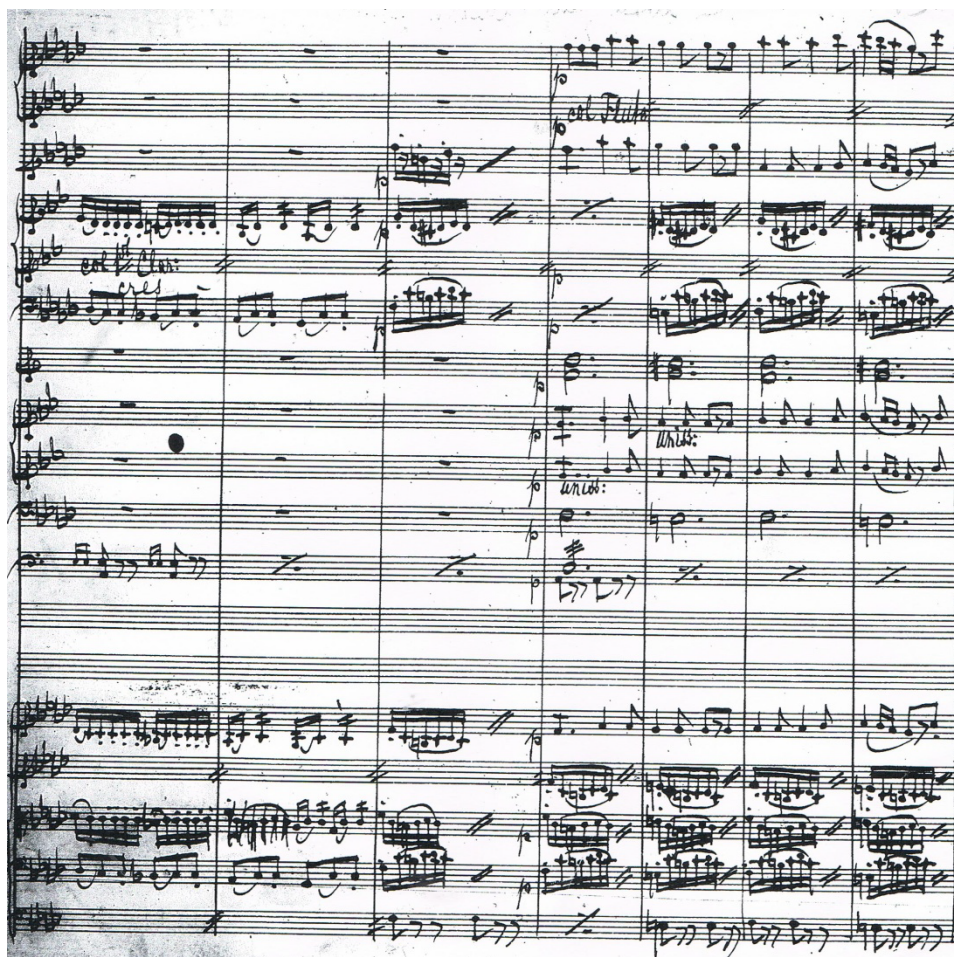
Calvert's handling was a significant departure from how this scene had traditionally been played. In past productions, actors from Kemble to Kean leapt up, startled, on Henry's words 'More will I do' and a trumpet or brass instruments sounded. Calvert's handling of this moment was radically different and his chosen music for this passage is perhaps the most daring, even dangerous, selection that he made: it is the murder music

⁷⁴ Smith, p. 31.

‘Fatal mia donna!’ from Verdi’s *Macbeth*.⁷⁵ In the opera, having committed the crime off-stage, Macbeth returns to sing, with his wife, a frantic, fast and melodically-tight duet in F minor. The original orchestration is sparse but demonic, and captures the terror of their actions with a repetitive figuration in the second violins wrapped chromatically around the dominant C of the key F major, which disturbs the balance of the tonality and is disturbing to the listener.

The murder duet that Calvert borrowed from is mature Verdi in post-nationalistic mode; it is writing that points the way to the twentieth century in his musical exploration of character and motivation. It is the kind of ground-breaking operatic writing that laid the way for the works of Janáček, Britten and Sondheim, and the gamut of psychologically underscored twentieth-century works of music theatre. Although Verdi’s *Macbeth* had not been performed in England by 1872 the music, as already noted, was widely arranged for concert performance and it is probable that some in the audience would have been aware of this dark, melodramatic music. The duet which occurs immediately after the murder of Duncan is at the core of this Shakespeare-derived opera, and Calvert’s audience for *Henry V* may have carried aural and theatrical images of the dramatic content. Calvert selected this music to explore the issues of the murder of King Richard by grafting on musical associations with the ambitious Macbeths’ equally coldblooded murder. He was able to extend the time frame of the fearful mood generated by the text; it gave him a tool to control the emotional climate well after the speech had ended. Williams’ orchestration of the passage broadened Verdi’s narrow tessitura giving the agitated second violin texture also to violas, cellos and low woodwind whilst he transcribed the vocal lines for high

⁷⁵ Verdi, *Macbeth* (Milan: G. Ricordi, n. d.), p. 162-175.



Ex. 3.13 Transcription of the murder duet from Verdi's *Macbeth*

woodwind (including piccolo), trumpets and first violins, the whole being quietly punctuated with bass lines and percussion (Ex. 3.13). It began quietly under the last few lines of text (see music cue) and, growing in volume, ended the scene in a whirlwind of melodramatic, fear-inspiring sound. Williams' orchestration has significant deviations from Verdi's orchestral score; this setting is a clear indicator that he worked from the piano solo reduction which had become recently available commercially and not from the original score.

Calvert's production was one of strong visual, emotional and aural contrasts and from a scene with the English king, whose conscience was troubled by the memory of murder, he returned, after Verdi's demonic music, to the Dauphin's headquarters (4.2.1-63

with twenty lines cut) for a brief scene with the French courtiers. There was by now no suggestion of their indolence, and therefore none of the music that earlier underpinned that mood was reused. As they set off, a short businesslike fanfare, dominated by brass, accompanied their exit to battle.

The next scene in the English lines, which contains the long St Crispin's Day speech, followed immediately after the fanfare. Like the French, the English habitually made their exit accompanied by what are termed on the score 'flourishes'. On this occasion, Calvert developed the exit fanfare of the English into an orchestral-accompanied skirmish. These pieces of battle music show no stylistic difference, unlike Kean's production, between English and French. They were functional short compositions, probably all by Williams, and here the music was accompanied by noise, gunfire, shouting and frantic stage activity. The conductor made a note on the score to keep going but 'finish [the] strain' when the scene (with a new back cloth flown in) opened in a new part of the field (4.4). The importance of the conductor in a controlling role within the production, in conjunction with the prompter (who called the cues) and the gasman (who changed the lighting levels), is revealed by these terse handwritten reminders on the score. The brief scene between Pistol, a French soldier and the boy continued the battle mode and a short flourish led, with the sounds of gun fire, into Calvert's 'Tableau: The Battle of Agincourt'.⁷⁶

Alfred Darbyshire described the production's stage tableaux as 'living pictures [that represented] the horrors of war, the sufferings entailed, and the blessings of peace'.⁷⁷ The scenic design for the tableau in the original Manchester production reveals the brutality of

⁷⁶ Calvert, prompt book, p. 52.

⁷⁷ Alfred Darbyshire, *The Art of the Victorian Stage: Notes and Recollections* (London and Manchester: Sherratt and Hughes, 1907), p. 50, in Smith, p. 32.

warfare with fierce fighting and injured casualties prominent at the front of the stage in a static suspension of animation.⁷⁸ There is however a dichotomy between the evidence of the music and Calvert's description of his dramatic intention in the tableau. He described the effect as follows:

There is no swaggering attempt to represent the dealing of actual blows, which often converts a bloody tragedy into an amusing burlesque: but a picture in still life is presented on a crowded stage of the very grapple of two hostile armies.⁷⁹

The picture is 'still life' but the music with a continuously vigorous texture of triplets, suggests excitement and tension but not (at least to modern ears) horror and brutality. The surging 6/8 *allegro* is an adaptation of a chorus that opens Act One of Mercadante's *Il Giuramento*. It is reminiscent of the twentieth-century film music which underscored fighting on horseback with dashing music. The pounding finale of Rossini's *Overture to William Tell*, for example, became so synonymous with action and horse-back heroism in the popular movie *The Lone Ranger* that children playing cowboys would hammer out *di di dom, di di dom, di di dom dom dom* to ramp up their activity.⁸⁰ The theme became (and probably remains for some) associated in the public mind more with heroism in the mid-west than the original opera plot of Austrian occupied Switzerland. Likewise, the ten minutes of battle music by William Walton (1902-1983) for the 1944 film of *King Henry V* is an example of music, not borrowed, but specifically composed to ensure a partisan audience response and elation during harsh moments of action.⁸¹ Walton's austere melodic lines, driving rhythmical patterns and charging full orchestration successfully developed the sense that battle, viewed by the winners, is an uplifting state. In a musically-controlled state of mind, an audience is not required to give thought to the

⁷⁸ Calvert, *Manchester Folios*, II, n. p.

⁷⁹ Calvert, *Henry the Fifth*, pp. 3-6.

⁸⁰ *The Lone Ranger*, dir. by Stuart Heisler (Warner Brothers, 1956).

⁸¹ Susanna Walton, *William Walton: Behind the Facade* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 94.

suffering of losers or victims. This was the manner and purpose of the music that Calvert in the Manchester version appears to have used. Quite how the audiences received Calvert's fashionably new battle tableau, sensationalized with music, is not recorded but the 'very death grapple of two hostile armies' was an effect he continued to seek and in America the music was omitted. There was no surging tableau music in the New York score and the battle (Fig. 3.6) was accompanied only with stark sound effects.

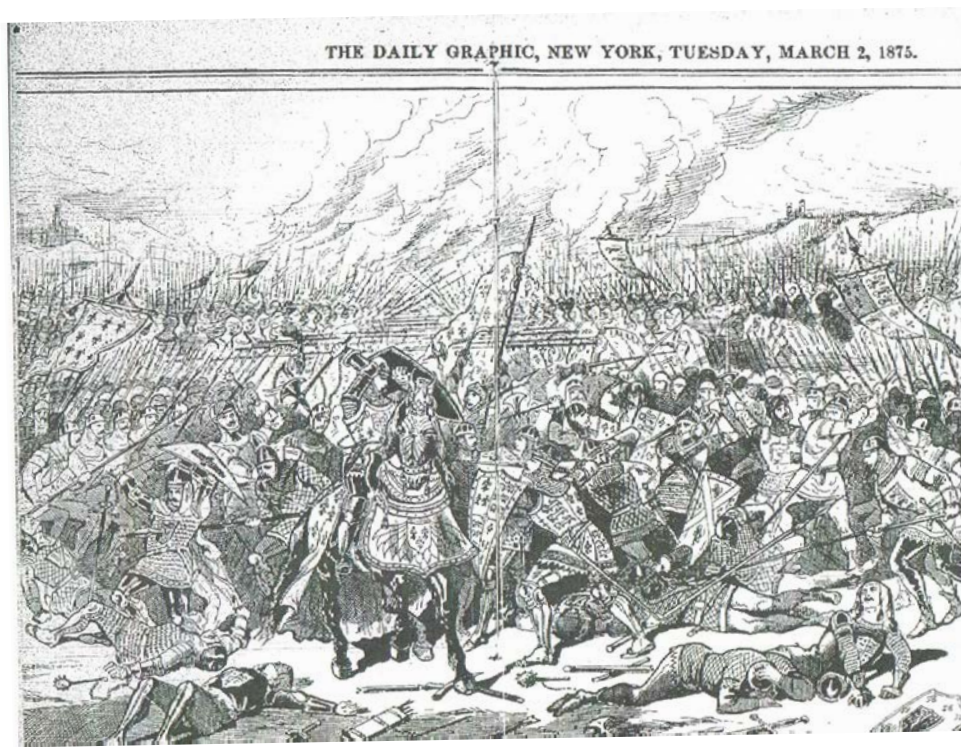


Fig. 3.6 Calvert's *Tableau of the Battle of Agincourt*

New York's *The Daily Graphic* captured the scene and it is a bleak and honest portrayal of the battlefield as a scene of carnage.⁸² The revised New York 1875 score suggests that musically he was beginning, in this very short scene, to acknowledge the implications of

⁸² *The Daily Graphic*, New York, 2 March 1875. n. p.

the horror that is implicit in the play. With no music for the tableau and when the audience was confronted by a visually complex, non-verbal visceral scene of battle, there was nothing to lift the emotions or offer relief from the harsh impressions of gunfire and shouting.

The Manchester manuscript shows how long the tableau was held, in itself a rare and important insight as little is known about this nineteenth-century theatrical practice. Taking an average of timings achieved by performing the music at slightly different speeds, it may be calculated that the tableau was revealed for about one minute, information that cannot be learned from a visual image. Despite the boldly printed posters which highlighted the *Tableau of the Battle of Agincourt*, this impressive scene was very brief and in New York Calvert recorded that it was ‘a picture so telling and effective, that the audience demanded its representation twice’.⁸³ The actor manager’s theatrical investment in this scene is revealed in the promptbooks; complex backstage organisation was required to create this vivid and immediate, but brief, theatrical thrill. The American public, at that time, was known to savour the spectacle of battle, and there are records from July 1861 of a crowd of some 500 spectators from Washington, some with picnics and opera glasses, taking to the hill tops to watch the first battle of the American Civil War at Bull Run.⁸⁴ Such was the public preoccupation with the thrill of battle that a play in three acts by Charles Gaylor entitled *Bull Run!* by October 1862 nightly filled the Washington Theatre, Washington.⁸⁵ It was an elaborate production with diorama illustrations, music, mechanical effects and a battle tableau. What was to become the enduring ballad ‘The

⁸³ Calvert, promptbook, p. 4.

⁸⁴ William C. Davis, *Battle at Bull Run: A History of the First Major Campaign of the Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977), p. 253.

⁸⁵ *Washington Evening Star*, 23 October 1862. I am grateful to Professor William C. Davis, Director of the Virginia Centre for Civil War Studies at VirginiaTech University, for drawing my attention to this and other plays which included battle tableaux. <widavis6@vt.edu > [accessed 15 October 2012]

Battle Cry of Freedom’, which became synonymous with freedom for both sides in the conflict, was sung at the opening of the third and final act and, as the play reached its climax after the ‘charge of the black cavalry’, the tableau ‘Battle of Bull Run’ brought the play to an end. It illustrates the contemporary and popular appreciation of tableaux to represent extreme dramatic situations and it shows the public gaining vicarious excitement from the gory details of battle. The battle tableau in *Bull Run!* was (for American audiences) a forerunner of the Agincourt tableau. It was an era before film and television but then, as now, audiences were gripped and entertained by horror, both in theatrical tableaux and the real activity of warfare. Equally, Americans witnessed Calvert’s Agincourt tableau in raw reality, unmediated and not prescribed in length by action music. I suggest that, accompanied only by the bleak and violent sound effects of battle, in the absence of music, it was chillingly intense.

The action moved on, without a break, into the very short French scene in another part of the battlefield (4.5). In the 1872 version, the French nobles cried out ‘O diable!...le jour est perdu’ as the music faded and humiliated by the progress of the battle thus far, they dashed back into the throng for a final assault. The Mercadante tableau music was repeated as the Constable proclaimed (4.5.10 and 18-19):

The devil take order now! I’ll to the throng;
Let life be short: else *shame will be too long*. (my italics: music cue)

The restatement of this energetic music extended the operatically-driven aura of the scene, upholstering the impact of the desperate voices. In 1875 changes were made. This became a stark event and only a flourish accompanied the French as they returned to the fray, and King Henry and his followers regained the stage.

During the final scenes of the battle, and in the aftermath, Calvert interposed two

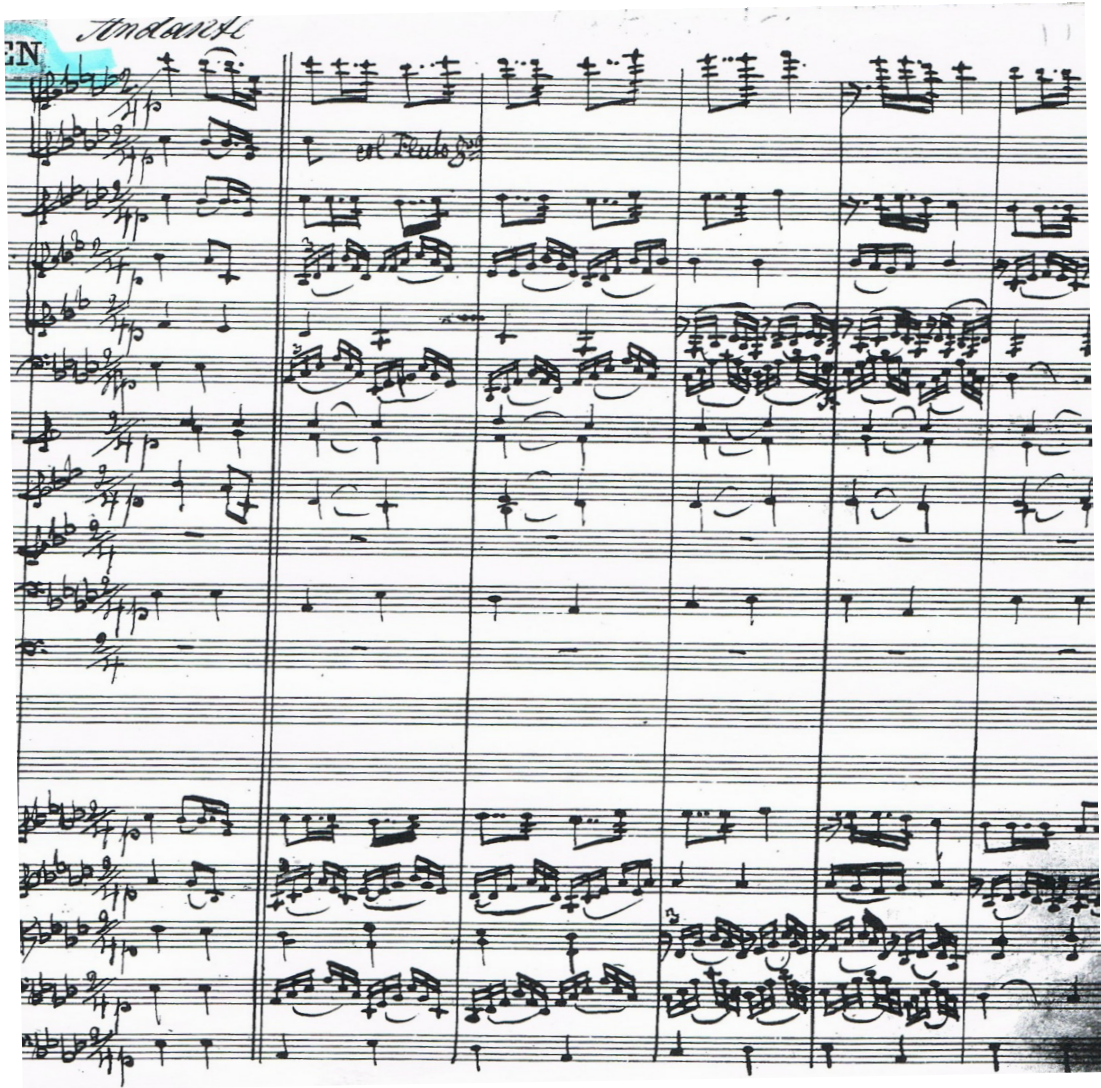
further episodes of Italian music. Before the capitulation of the French, immediately before the entry of Montjoy (4.7.61), Calvert's stage directive 'The bodies of York and Suffolk are carried across by soldiers' created a pause in the text, as music accompanied the procession. Such processions on stage were not new,⁸⁶ or unusual, as Michael Burden in a study of late eighteenth-century London theatre 'Processing with the dead and the living' has demonstrated.⁸⁷ Calvert may have seen a populist procession and a touch of musical sorrow as a marketing tool. The music was the 9/8 *larghetto* previously heard to open the third act in the Dauphin's tent; it remains a difficult choice to understand. Musically this was not a military send off for these two bastions of the English nobility. The lyrical setting earlier associated with the French was perhaps an allusion to the enemies who had killed them, or maybe it was used simply as a few moments of delicate quiet lyrical music in which to remember dead colleagues.

After this show of public mourning, the ending of the long scene followed immediately; Calvert cut 'Go we in procession...God fought for us' (110-120), and the English departed from France in music which cast aside the weight of mourning and turned it into an operatic finale of thanksgiving. Calvert's stage directives, much simpler those of Kean, state '*All kneel and join in the Song of Thanksgiving*' (my italics). His playbill boasted a 'powerful and well selected chorus' and here was a key choral moment. Neither of the musical sources provides words for the song, nor any definite indication whether it was sung in unison or parts, but scribbled on the margins of the orchestral score is a note 'Chorus of Monks-to be harmonised' which suggests part-singing was planned. Calvert's

⁸⁶ Charles Haywood, 'William Boyce's "Solemn Dirge" in Garrick's *Romeo and Juliet* Production of 1750', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, XI (1960), 173-85 (p. 174).

⁸⁷ Michael Burden, 'Processing with the dead, and the living: The decline of 18th-century dramatic taste', paper at *Shakespeare, Music and Performance*, Shakespeare's Globe, 3-5 May, 2013 accessible at *Oxford University Research Archive* at the Bodleian Library <<http://ora.ox.ac.uk>>

Monks introduced an element of religiosity into the scene but unlike Kean, who used the austere fifteenth-century *Alta Trinita Beata*, his army (and the monks) sang of thankfulness and with exuberance (Ex. 3.14). It has not been possible to identify this fine chorus from the four scores of Mercadante, Verdi, Rossini, or



Ex. 3.14 Italian chorus sung after 'Where n'er from France'

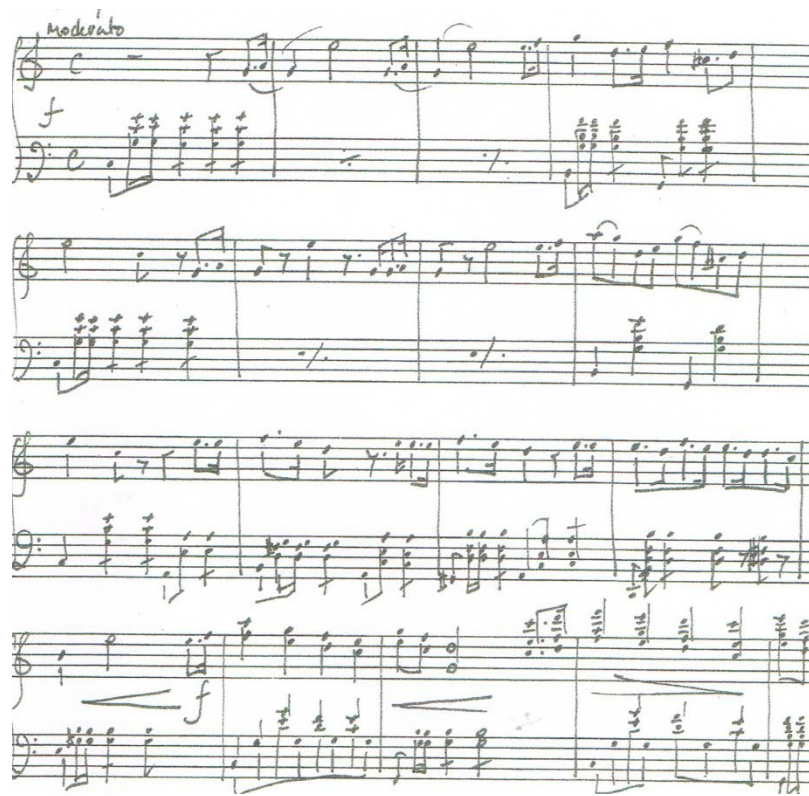
Donizetti but it has all the qualities that made Italian opera so popular: stirring warm harmonies, arching melodic shape, strong dotted rhythms against a turgid triplet-driven accompaniment and booming bass. It was a populist Italianate choice to underline an English victory, and it was music to raise the emotional climate and sustain the impact

of the textual ending: 'Where ne'er from France arriv'd more happy men'. In tone, the scene ending appears not to reflect upon the 'dead with charity enclos'd in clay', nor, take a formal ecclesiastical approach to the music of the 'holy rites' as Kean did. It was a substantially orchestrated, operatic-style finale with a full-voiced outpouring of 'happy men' who were singing of their victory as the curtain came down in the final triumphal four bars of the long chorus.⁸⁸ Although there are no words of the chorus on the score, the triangulated evidence of the stage directions, taken together with the nature of the music in both the Manchester manuscript and the New York full score, suggests that the scene ended with powerful singing accompanied by full-bodied orchestral accompaniment. It is another instance of Calvert imposing a surging, emotionally-charged operatic ending after the text of the scene had been concluded.

A strong composition in C major opened Act Four and set a square broad tone. It was a transcription of the tenor aria from Act Four of Donizetti's *Parisina* 'Perle cure perle pene' sung by Ugo, the hero, desperate to see his life-long love before his certain death. The version quoted here (Ex. 3.15) is a handwritten copy taken from the Manchester manuscript, given here to illustrate the nature of the commemorative arrangements.⁸⁹ The introduction and words of the aria are omitted and the melody, with its vivid rhythmically-patterned accompaniment, is clear and intact in the solo pianoforte setting. The aria is muscular in character with broad leaps and charging hard-edged dotted rhythms. Williams' orchestration (Ex. 3.16) gave the melody to violins and woodwind including bassoons, all above a relentlessly bouncing bass reinforced by double percussion. It captured the passion of the original tenor soloist and was a forceful opening to the act.

⁸⁸ Calvert, prompt book (n. p).

⁸⁹ This handwritten copy was taken with permission at the Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive.



Ex. 3.15 'Perle cure perle'

Following this vibrant introductory music, the scene opened to reveal a garlanded Mrs Calvert. In Chorus Five (severely cut), she briefly told of the King's return to London and the joyous welcome that greeted him there. Calvert, instead of retaining Shakespeare's description of the scene, illustrated his return (in the manner instituted by Kean), with an extra-textual Episode accompanied by continuous music. It was similar visually to the Kean production, with processions finally leading to a climax when Henry, on horseback, framed by medieval buildings, surrounded by soldiers, dancers, singers and all sections of the citizenry of London, accepted the keys of the city (see illustrations at the opening of this chapter). Like Kean's production, this scene of pageantry, accompanied by instrumental and vocal music, lasted about twenty to twenty-five minutes, which is an extraordinary interruption in the forward movement of Shakespeare's text. Musically, Calvert's interpretation of this extra-textual scene was very different. Calvert used busy passages

from his four key operatic sources woven together in the theatre-music idiom he deployed in the Overture. Whilst Kean attempted to portray the gathering of the populace with street music, gradually leading to more ceremonial pieces as the dignitaries arrived, Calvert, in contrast, had less naturalism. In the mode of mid-nineteenth century opera composers, he used vigorously active processional music to accompany all ranks regardless of plot or historical context. He curtailed Chorus V (29-46 were cut) and the Episode began as a brilliant, high trumpet burst forth on the Chorus's cue:

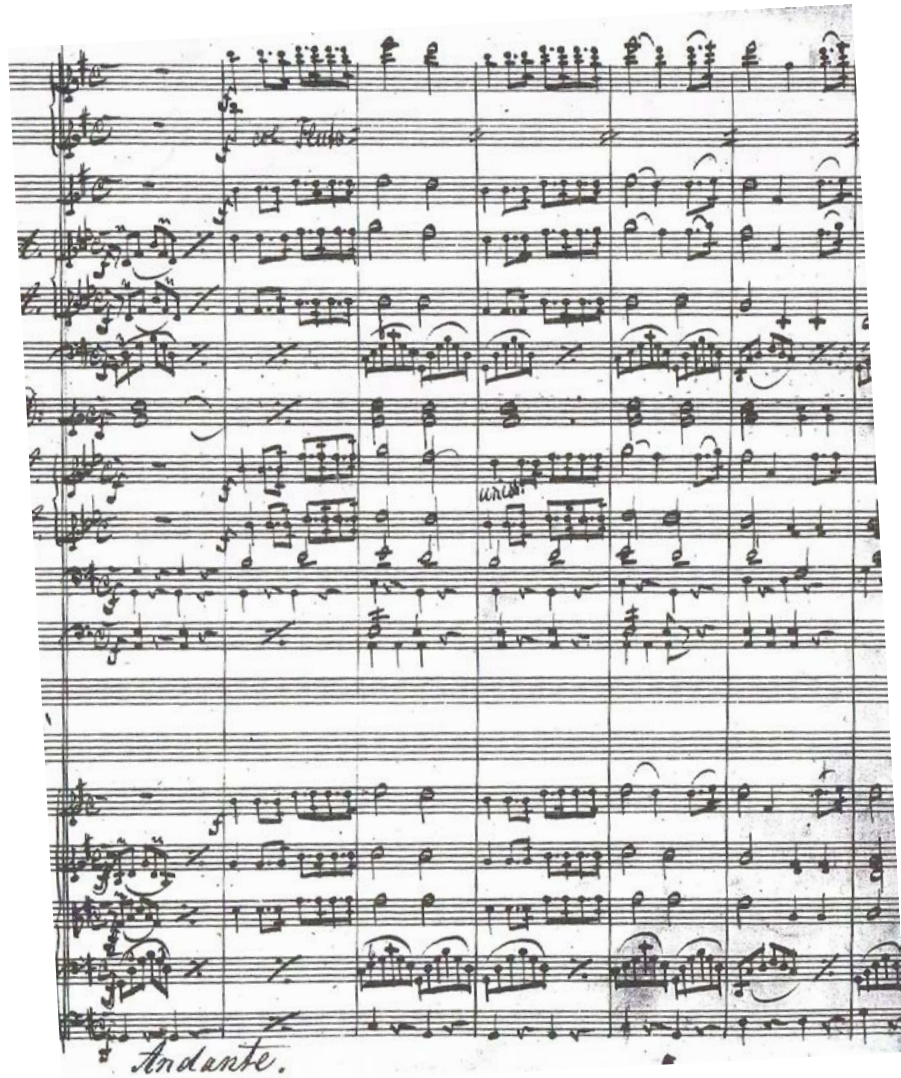
Like the senators of antique Rome
With the plebeians swarming at their heels
Go forth, and fetch their *conquering Caesar* in (my italics: music cue) (25-27)

Verdi used a similar fanfare preceding the march *Gloria all'Egitto* (Glory to all Egypt) in *Aida* (1871).⁹⁰ Calvert borrowed from the Italian operatic idiom, where victory in battle and the reuniting of heroes with homeland and people was an opportunity not for realism, but for a set piece with massed full-blown singing and opulent orchestral accompaniments. It was a style which mediated the distant past with nineteenth-century mannered military emotionalism. He built on the imagery of Roman glory and cut the text to suit his musical needs; with forceful opening and continual dynamism, it is in modern film parlance, a blockbuster: strong, exciting and loud from the first note.

Forceful marches followed the trumpet call until the moment, marked on the score, when the king accepted the key denoting freedom of the city; then the mood music changed and it settled into a dance in a delicate triple time to accompany a troop of ballet girls who, as in Kean's production, danced before the king. This finally segued into a celebratory chorus adapted from Mercadante's *Il Giuramento* (Ex. 3.16). In the opera this is an

⁹⁰ Verdi, *Aida*, premiered Cairo 1871. It is unlikely that Calvert saw *Aida* in England before his *Henry V* staging but the manner of introducing the march is typical of this extravagantly-decorative late nineteenth-century style of operatic fanfare.

intimate trio *Coro di damme*, a funeral lament for female voices with thinly scored accompaniment, but Williams re-orchestrated it to create a thanksgiving chorus of melodic



Ex. 3.16 Chorus of thanksgiving: *In Exitu*

power and warm authority. The density of the scoring and volume (it begins *ff* and is *f* throughout), indicate that the massed numbers on stage (reinforced by Calvert's specially engaged chorus), made this moment into another of operatic dimension. It was a notable moment, as the correspondent of *The Examiner and Times* recalled, and he supplied the information, not indicated on either score, that it was sung to the words of psalm hundred and thirteen: *In Exitu*. The exaltation of the works of God, linked to the warm reassuring

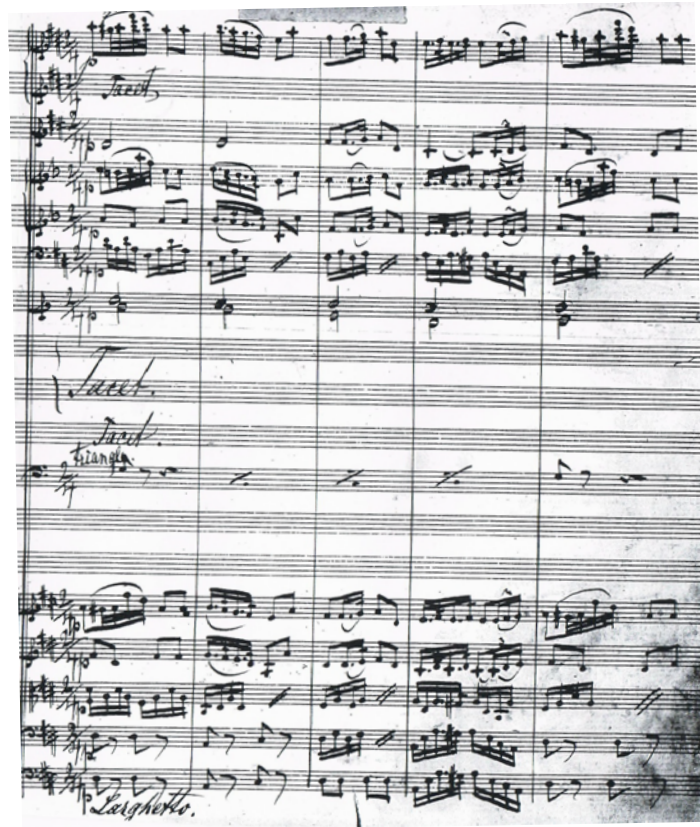
tones of a simple, thickly scored G major surging melodic setting, gave this moment a religiosity that Calvert had omitted at the end of the Act Four. It brought to an end the Episode, a long sequence of fashionable nineteenth-century marches, dances and choruses which portrayed not only the medieval king's triumphant entry to the capital, but, in the style of nineteenth-century opera, it gave space on the side lines of the action for the reactions of the common people, including the wives and mothers of the returning soldiers, to be seen and heard.

The nature of this celebration was to turn the emphasis and climax of Calvert's Agincourt campaign from an invasion into a nationalistic endeavour and celebration. It was akin to the search for national identity politically sweeping Europe, and reflected in operas of the time.⁹¹ The massed singing of the operatic hymn of praise at the ending of the Episode, reprised later in the Espousal, was both Rossinian and Verdian in concept and impact. Both Italians early in their careers learnt the strength of an operatic crowd response. In *Tancredi*, Rossini welcomed the hero with a stout turnout of grateful crowds singing of victory, whilst Verdi's chorus of the Hebrew slaves *Va, pensiero* (Speed your journey) in Act Three of *Nabucco* (1842), captured the power of an emotional crowd sobbing in full voice. *Va, pensiero* was taken up as an unofficial national anthem in Italy, embodying the patriotic longing for freedom and liberation, such was the nineteenth-century popular power and impact of crowd singing within a theatrical performance. Calvert harnessed this ability of music to work on human emotions, sufficient to allow the text to be halted for a twenty-minute music-led scene.

Unlike Kean, who minimised the role and appearances of the princess, Calvert's Act

⁹¹ Anthony Arblaster, *Viva la Liberta! Politics in Opera* (London: Verso, 1992), especially Chapters Two to Four, pp. 45-146.

Five began in the French palace where Katherine was having an English lesson (3.4.1-43). She entered to delicately pretty music created by careful adaptation of the accompaniment from ‘lieta era dessa’ at the beginning of Act Two of *Parisina*. Williams’ orchestral version (Ex. 3.17) shows the serenade that he developed from an accompaniment to a



Ex. 3.17 A dainty serenade set the scene for the English lesson

frothy *larghetto* duo (see over Ex. 3.18); it gave a youthful and feminised aura to the scene. It is one of the few moments in the score when Calvert chose music that specifically reflected the bearing, sex and social status of the key players in the scene. It is lighthearted and positive in tone, suggesting a young female eager to learn and happy at her life’s prospects. In the operatic original setting the music is scored for a two-part chorus of ladies who reflect on the radiance of Princess Parisina, as she waited to welcome her winning knight. Calvert (or Williams) apparently knew this music in context sufficiently well to pick out the accompaniment detail, and use it to create the serenade to enhance a similar

scene of a bride-to-be princess, welcoming a victorious warrior.

Equally lighthearted music followed as the lesson was interrupted by the entry of

At. 2.
ATTO 2.^{do}
INTRODUZIONE.

Larghetto.
PIANO.

IMELDA.
Lieta era des-sa,

Coro di damigelle.
tan-to? Oltre ogni tuo nen sie-ro. Al vin-ci-tor guer-rie-ro.
8va

IMELDA. CORO.
-ri-se, e il coro- no... E il Duca? Ad sso ac-can-to, fi-so in lei sol...

Ex. 3.18 Original vocal duet setting of the wooing scene music

King Henry, together with the King and Queen of France, and numerous attendants . This entry music is an adaptation of 'Era stella del mattin' from Mercadante's *Il Giuramento*, a lightly-moving piece. Taken from Act One of the opera, this is another female chorus of attendants who described their princess in ecstatic terms. This music may have been familiar to an audience who were accustomed to hearing such picturesque extracts from operas being performed in concerts or the intimacy of the domestic salon. These short pieces were used several times to allow the act, as reconfigured by Calvert, to flow easily

and to sustain this intimate mood. Left alone, the king wooed the princess, and the scene ended not with the interruption 'Here comes your father' (5.2.271) but with Calvert's stage direction: *'The King leads out the Princess followed by the attendant'*. The lightly textured and gently flowing 'Era stella del mattin' was repeated as they left and, not only did the music romanticise the scene, but Calvert cut the text to introduce this personal moment. His musical choices, together with his textual reorganization, which left the English lesson to the final act, removed some of the emphasis on diplomacy, militarism and bartering that can dominate the final act of the play. Whilst Kean had ignored the Princess musically, Calvert retained her lesson and framed her in short elegant serenades. This gave her, and the actions that surrounded her, a measure of equality and an enhanced personal and sexual significance.

Calvert's reorganised text delayed the scene involving Gower, Fluellen and the leek (5.1.1- 62) until after the wooing of Princess Katherine. He set the scene between the three men on the Bridge at Troyes, retained the comedic element and made this final appearance of the group unambiguously de-mob happy by cutting both the news of the death of Doll, and Pistol's consequent criminal plans (5.1.74-82). To introduce this scene and reinforce the French setting and ambience, Calvert used a 4/4 carillon-like piece (the carillon is a continental automated form of bell ringing) based on a repeated bell-like pattern which was reminiscent of church bells sounding across a town. Marked *Marcia*, it is a long piece lasting two to three minutes, suggestive of a practical purpose of cover for an extensive scene change. Part of the carillon-style music, in the New York score, is shown also to have been heard earlier. In a change from Manchester, it was heard in the first scene of Calvert's Act Five when Henry came to woo Katherine, and again as they left the stage together. This replacement of the lighter music (Ex. 3.18) leaving only one item of

sweetly-textured gentle music (Ex. 3.17) to surround the princess, altered, and perhaps modernised the scene. The melodic, solid and joyful carillon music in 4/4 would have reinforced the machismo of Rignold's interpretation. As the carillon-style music played it was reminiscent of the sounds from the streets heard as the bells rang on the occasion of royal marriages.

Royal marriage was a regular occurrence in the two decades prior to, and during the time of, Calvert's *Henry V*; it was not a once in a generation event at this time. Six of the



Fig. 3.7 William Holman Hunt's *London Bridge on the Night of the Marriage of the Prince and Princess of Wales* (1863-4)

eight royal offspring married in quick succession: Victoria (1858), Alice (1862), Edward, Prince of Wales (1863), Helena (1866), Louise (1871), Alfred (1874) and Arthur (1879). The populace were enthusiastic observers and supporters of royalty on such occasions, albeit in the streets, as William Holman Hunt's *London Bridge on the Night of the*

Marriage of the Prince and Princess of Wales illustrates (1863-4).⁹² The picture is a theatrical with colour, movement, humour, spectacle, pageantry and the implied sound of the concertina player to the centre left on the bridge. The citizenry had turned out in full force to enjoy the splendour and there is a meta-theatricality within the picture, with the figures on the right, watching the crowd as if at a performance. It is an effect that echoes the processions and crowds captured by Calvert and others' scenes of royal celebration.

Calvert's carillon music, placed immediately prior to the Espousal of Henry and Katherine, captured the public exuberance of street celebrations;⁹³ it set a celebratory, non-military tone for the coming ceremony in the Cathedral at Troyes. The



Fig. 3.9 Cathedral at Troyes

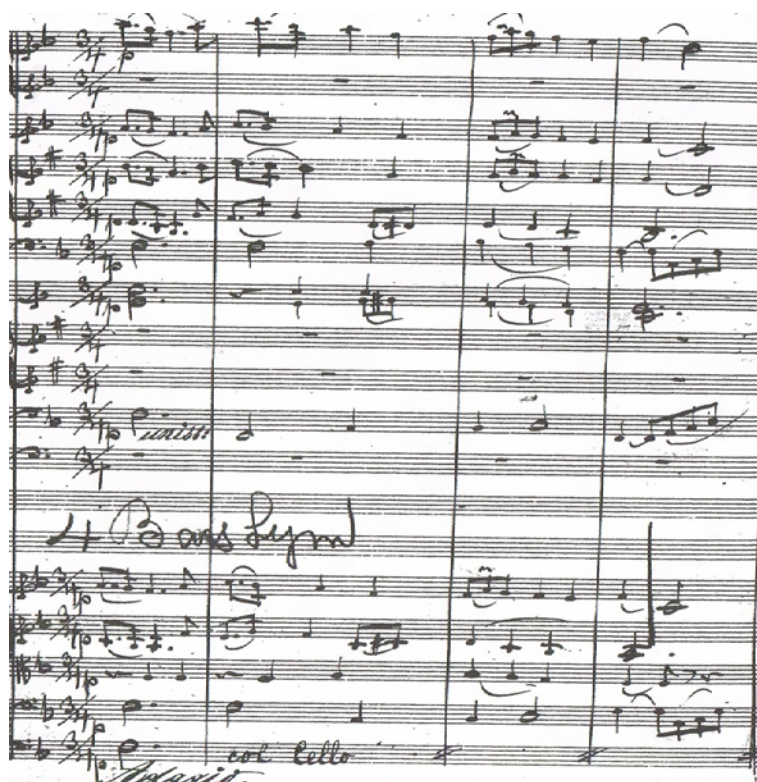
final, additional and extra-textual third scene in the fifth act of Calvert's production is richly staged and headed 'The Ceremony of the Espousal of Henry the Fifth to the Princess

⁹² William Holman Hunt (1827-1910), *London Bridge on the Night of the Marriage of the Prince and Princess of Wales*. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

⁹³ The composer or source of this carillon-style music has not been identified.

Katharine of Valois'. Audiences in Manchester, where choral singing was an important part of Victorian middle-class recreation, would have appreciated this extra scene in which vocal music played a key role. The setting was magnificent, with an elaborately painted backcloth of the Cathedral interior (Fig. 2.8), and the staging, and the music, matched this richness.⁹⁴ Twenty boys, some as French and English pages and others with crosses and candles, a 'chorus of nobles and officers', clergy, trumpeters, guards, engineers and soldiers, ladies, nobility and the royal parties all contributed to this richly staged occasion.⁹⁵

A stately *adagio* in F major, which has the added note on the Manchester



Ex. 3.19 Choral music for the 'grand entry' of both royal parties

manuscript 'with vocals for the grand entry', opened the scene (Ex. 3.19).⁹⁶ James Tyler wrote 'organ' on his New York prompt book at the head of the scene; an indicator perhaps

⁹⁴ Calvert, Set Design, Commemorative Folios, II, Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive.

⁹⁵ Calvert, prompt book, opposite p. 62.

⁹⁶ Calvert, Manchester manuscript, p. 41. The origin of this music has not been identified.

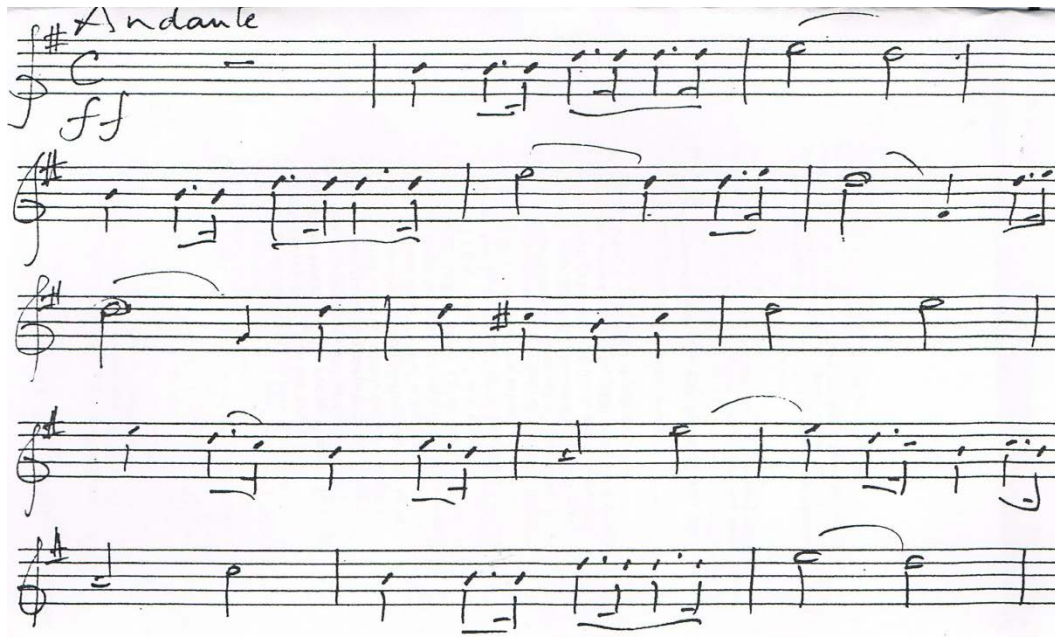
that an organ was added to the orchestral sound.⁹⁷ In Booth's, a vast New York theatre that seated 3,000, an organ would have magnified the sound appropriately to evoke the acoustic of a great cathedral. Following the weighty choral reception (another operatic effect) for the royal parties, Calvert cut and reordered the dialogue to give a prominent role to the French Queen. She, instead of King Henry, opened the scene that would resolve the conflict:

So happy be the issue, brother England
Of this good day and of this glorious meeting,
As we are now glad to behold your eyes;
Yours, which hitherto have borne in them
Against the French, that met them in their bent,
The fatal balls of murdering basilisks:
The venom of such looks, we fairly hope,
Have lost their quality; and that this day
Shall change all griefs and quarrels into love. (5.2.12-20)

Placed here, she looked with acceptance into her future son-in-law's eyes and optimistically saw there a new quality. It is a cut of the text that emphasised the personal element in this international bargain. Designed to appeal to an audience which had been ruled by a strong matriarch for almost forty years, the foregrounding of the queen in the marital dénouement was the key to Calvert's refashioning of this final scene. It was an empowerment of the French Queen who was also given the final valedictory words. After the king's lines, which normally brought the action of the play to an end 'Prepare we for our marriage...may our oaths well kept and prosp'rous be' (255-359), Calvert's French Queen delivered the speech 'God, the best maker of all marriages' (344-353). Here the speech became a valediction, that of a mother and a queen. She emphasised the religious and personal importance of matrimony and the joining of the kingdom, and she led the final words of the production 'That English may as French, French Englishmen/ Receive each

⁹⁷ Calvert, prompt book, p. 67.

other - God speak this Amen!', all repeated 'Amen' and the Espousal followed.⁹⁸ To accompany the wedding ceremony, *In exitu*, already heard in a rich setting to Mercadante's music at the climax of the Episode, was sung again by the full cast. The opening of the melody is repeated below to emphasise operatic nature of the broad melody (Ex. 3.20 previously seen in 3.16 with orchestration).



Ex. 3.20 Vocal line of *In Exitu* ends the Espousal

Calvert, like Kean, cut the final Epilogue, but his ending was unlike his predecessor's crisp military finish. Here was an extended finale that was affecting and laden with sentiment. The final actions of the performance took the form of a ceremony accompanied and sustained by a long, harmonically-strong, setting of a religious text set to stirring secular choral music. The harsh reality of warfare was musically subsumed in a wash of luscious harmony, with a direct but simple melody creating the emotional climate generated by massed singing.

⁹⁸ Calvert, p. 73.

Whilst *The Examiner and Times* commentator (cited earlier in this chapter) enthused about all he heard, the columnist from *The Manchester Guardian* was less keen.⁹⁹ He noted on the first night ‘rather an abundance’ of music but hoped there would be a ‘trifle less’ after the scene shifters had sorted out ‘preliminary difficulties’, whilst admitting that ‘we have rarely, if ever, seen a first performance so free from lets and hindrances to immediate enjoyment’. Alfred Darbyshire, albeit a partisan observer, later noted things went relatively smoothly on the first night and, remembering the highly complex staging of the Episode, he recalled ‘all went as merry as a marriage bell’.¹⁰⁰ More damning than the suggestion of technical glitches was *The Manchester Guardian* response to the volume of the sound effects. The extensive and detailed review, which was otherwise full of plaudits, ended with this crushing critique:

Even if in [Henry’s] reign patriotism and military ardour were inseparable from the braying of trumpets and the booming of drums, it may be that the tympana of his subject’s ears were constructed in more durable fashion than is usual among the lieges of Her present Majesty’.

This strongly-expressed distaste for the level of the noise of battle is perhaps the critic’s reaction to Calvert’s attempted portrayal of reality in warfare. In the Agincourt scenes and tableau, the prompt books are liberally sprinkled with directions for cannons which were simulated by ‘booming’ drums. Several trumpeters played in the fanfares giving the raucous ‘braying’ which the critic found objectionable. In the battle scenes, Calvert banished military glamour by excluding chic wind-band marches that Kean used and he introduced a new sound quality that spoke uncompromisingly of death, destruction and fear: silence and gunfire.

Noticeably *The Manchester Guardian* columnist did not comment on the inclusion, or operatic derivation, of the incidental music that framed these scenes. Presumably he

⁹⁹ *The Manchester Guardian*, 18 September 1872.

¹⁰⁰ Darbyshire, p. 10.

found it appropriate and to his taste. It is worth recalling that, in Manchester, music was an important factor in social living and the citizenry was accustomed to large-scale music making. The Hallé orchestra, the first full-time orchestra in England, was newly established in the city, choral societies prospered and concerts featuring operatic extracts were popular, and touring Italian opera companies played regularly at the Prince's Theatre.¹⁰¹ Calvert chose a medium that exploited this familiarity. Numerous times during the evening, he launched his musicians into purple passages of Italian opera and the musical temperature did not descend from one of swagger or ebullience. Calvert's score had little relief from excess as arias and ensembles were re-orchestrated and restyled in the most Italianate and familiar manner, to create a heightened and lengthened emotional atmosphere at key events, and at act endings. Musically there were no moments of quietude, introspection or religiosity, little of lightness except the prettiness surrounding the princess, and a fey sequence of relaxing music befitting the pink encrusted tent. The paramount mode of the production was the pounding thrust of Italianate full-blooded music. It was a unique blend of high drama, framed in the stature of grand opera that was an important influence on future productions of the play on both sides of the Atlantic.

Eventually there was ongoing musical adjustment in the production evidenced by crossed out directions and hand-written notes on the New York score. The Dauphin's tent scene shows the musical content being modified and lessened. Originally, as the Dauphin left to put on his armour, a repeat of both the glee 'Who is Sylvia?' and the barcarolle-style duo were fitted into the texture of the action (the evidence is one direction which stated 'Wait till ready to sing' another 'sing till off') but these were eventually cut, leading to an

¹⁰¹ For a more extensive analysis of Manchester's theatre scene especially in relation to music see J. L. Hodgkinson and Rex Pogson, *The Early Manchester Theatre* (London: Anthony Bland for Society for Theatre Research, 1960), pp. 90-92.

unfettered, text-led ending to the scene. This is an understandable acceleration of the action; to sing to entertain the Dauphin whilst he is present has some logic, but gratuitously to repeat the process after he left is to indulge in music without purpose. Also removed at some stage from the next scene (Calvert's Act Three, Scene Two) was a further reprise of the French barcarolle which was heard in the distance as Erpingham entered (4.1.268) to interrupt the prayers of the king. This removal of the one touch of melodrama in the score (it was a brief musical reminder of the French as the king fearfully prayed), clearly was made early in the New York restaging process or even during the English performances during 1872-74, because this directive, unlike the others, is written in the hand of George Cooper as he copied the New York score.

The New York score indicates radical changes in the ending. The multiplicity of scribbled notes and directives, in various hands, on the final pages of the score suggest that there were incremental changes, as the production evolved after Rignold had taken over the leading role from Calvert. The long schmaltzy Mercadante final chorus was omitted (one note emphatically states '*no coro*') and was replaced by the shorter passage of stately F major music used for the 'Grand Entry' at the beginning of the scene. Eventually this was reduced, and just four bars of the 'Grand Entry' music were used to close the curtain, cutting out an extended marriage ceremony (Ex. 3.19 shows the cut in the fourth bar which reduced the forty bars of the piece to just four bars). This elimination of the choral element suggests that when the production toured in America, and elsewhere in the world, a full chorus could not be sustained financially and maybe some venues were not large enough for a vast cast.

It is not easy to track the detail of musical changes caused by wide-spread touring.

In Philadelphia, at the prestigious Walnut Street Theatre, *Henry V Waltzes* composed by Frank Green and dedicated to Rignold were played nightly; possibly created for the interval entertainment, they were light in style, and published locally for the domestic market.¹⁰² Surviving instrumental parts from other productions, for example from Charles Kean's 1866-67 tour of the southern states of America, give an insight to the flexibility needed by the musicians. Performing *Macbeth* in the New Orleans Theatre, New Orleans (no precise date), the orchestra was reduced to a nine players covering all lines - four strings, four wind and percussion - with the leader (the principal violinist of the New Orleans Theatre) directing from the fiddle.¹⁰³ Calvert's parts have gone, so changes (and still less the causes of them) have not survived but the score shows that the ending ceased to include an extended operatically-accompanied Espousal ceremony and the production ended briskly after the last lines of text. Scribbled notes on the score before 'Grand Entry' music are the only evidence of the changes, but the implications for other parts of production are unambiguous. If singers were not engaged to sing in the finale, then the vocal endings of both Act Four, and the Episode, amongst others, were also omitted, leaving the orchestra (perhaps reduced in size in distant touring venues) to sustain these climaxes. Without a score, prompt book, programme or other commentary from later years of the production (1875-1879) it is not possible to ascertain if, or when, throughout the extensive tours, the vocal element remained or indeed how much of the orchestral music survived.

After a world-wide tour including the USA and Australia, the play reached the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, London in November 1879, George Palmer was conductor,¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² Frank Green, *Henry V Waltzes, as played nightly at the Walnut St. Theatre* (Philadelphia: F. A. North, 1875)

¹⁰³ Charles Kean, *Macbeth*, orchestral parts (no score survives), Folger microfilm, y. d. 504.

¹⁰⁴ Programme, Rignold, *Henry V*, Theatre Royal Drury Lane, London, 1 November 1879. Bristol Theatre Collection.

and George Rignold (Fig. 3. 10) played a fashionably suave King Henry.

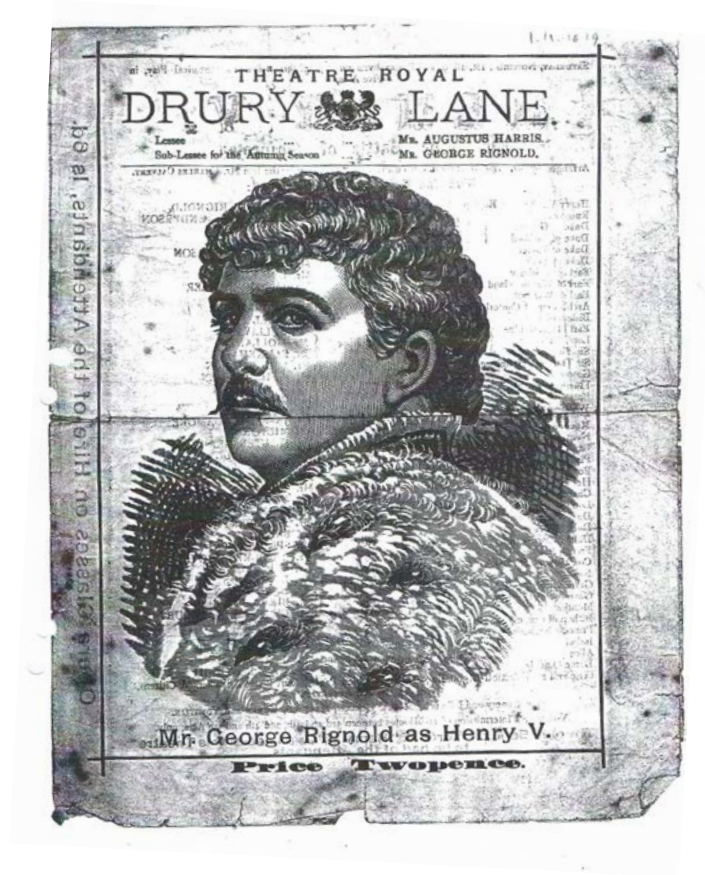


Fig. 3. 10 George Rignold's *Henry V* programme 1879

The evidence suggests that music was restored to its original importance and the choral music was again an impressive feature as Alfred Darbyshire related:

The distant hum of voices...the volume of sound swelled as the little army approached... the sound burst into a mighty shout as the hero of Agincourt rode through the triumphal archway, the '*Deo gratias Anglia redde pro Victoria*' and other hymns of praise filled the air... the bells clashed out, and a great thanksgiving (my italics) went up to heaven.¹⁰⁵

Darbyshire's description indicates that there was even more singing in the Episode than the evidence of the scores and descriptions of the 1872/1875 productions suggest. More music may have been added in 1879 but no later score survives to make a comparison. The

¹⁰⁵ Alfred Darbyshire, *The Art of the Shakespearian Stage: Notes and Recollections* (London and Manchester, Sherratt and Hughes: 1907), p. 50.

implication is that choral singing remained a significant element in the production: it added performance capital. Finally in 1880 ‘the most gorgeous and magnificent spectacle that has ever been presented on the stage of a Manchester theatre’ returned to tour the industrial cities of England.¹⁰⁶ By now Charles Calvert was dead. He was mourned after his death in June 1879 when 50,000 lined the streets of Manchester, on the day of his funeral. Later that year his achievements were honoured at an imposing memorial concert organised by a committee of luminaries including Charles Hallé, Henry Irving, Arthur Sullivan and Helen Faucit.¹⁰⁷ His conception of *Henry V* endured, and it played in Birmingham, promoted as Rignold’s ‘full and efficient London Company...as produced throughout the world’ then returned to Manchester, where one of the highlighted attractions was ‘the original music’.¹⁰⁸ In the pit was Edward Williams, Calvert’s first musical director of the show whose operatic re-orchestrations had been the musical engine of the production when it was launched eight years earlier. Williams again directed his operatic adaptations with Rignold’s ‘full and efficient’ London Company numbering around four hundred and fifty actors, singers and dancers.¹⁰⁹

This concludes the study of full scores. No other *Henry V* scores survive from this era. The next chapter is a process of musical archaeology. It demonstrates the influence of Kean and Calvert endured and reveals a musically-oriented approach to production for the next forty years. Taking a deductive approach, just as a few shards of a pot, or fragments of an archway point to a previous culture that the experienced investigator may interpret, so portions of instrumental manuscript, a few lines of song lyrics or some programmatic details, may reveal a significant but

¹⁰⁶ The opinions of the press are cited on Charles Calvert’s playbill *Henry V*, September 1872.

¹⁰⁷ Leaflet, *Reminiscences of Charles Calvert*. Found in a box of undocumented Calvert memorabilia in Manchester Arts Library (Th 792 094 273 Ca 2).

¹⁰⁸ Playbill, Rignold, *Henry V*, 20 November 1880, Theatre Royal, Birmingham. Birmingham Shakespeare Library.

¹⁰⁹ Playbill, Rignold, *Henry V*, 8 November 1880, Queen’s Theatre, Manchester. Manchester Arts Library.

overlooked soundscape. Frustratingly the full musical content remains patchy; as with the ruins of an excavated building, the imagination fuelled by the experience of the study of more complete structures, has to fill in the filigree of detail, but the shape, style and aural energy, and the theatrical significance of the lost soundscape emerges.

CHAPTER FOUR THE ARCHEOLOGICAL PHASE

‘absence of evidence is not evidence of absence’.¹

This chapter deals with the fragmentary musical evidence from a forty-year period 1876-1916, when the apparent craze for the medieval king was pursued by many directors including Coleman, Tearle, Waller, Mansfield, Benson and Martin Harvey. The outward signs of these productions – programmes, reviews, photographs, contemporary comment - indicate that there was little deviation from the pursuit of a grand style that deployed vast pieces of realistically-constructed scenery and elaborately-painted flown-in cloths (with the painter’s name for each scene listed on the programmes and play bills), together with large numbers of actors, supers, dancers, singers and, in the pit, a substantial orchestra with the conductor partially visible to the audience. There is no reason to suppose that music played a lesser part than in the work of their highly regarded predecessors, yet a survey of the music in these late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century productions of *Henry V* is supported by no extant complete music score. However, in the oft-cited maxim attributed to the astronomer Carl Sagan ‘absence of evidence is not evidence of absence’. Valuable indicators of music have been revealed in the programmes of the productions of Coleman and Tearle, showing that the influence of the musical structures, manner and mode of the productions of Kean and Calvert continued and grew throughout the Victorian era. From the work of Waller and Mansfield, a setting from each of a single extract published in adaptation for domestic use represents a hybrid form of impure, but significant, primary ‘remote’ musical evidence. Both are treated with appropriate circumspection, but I shall suggest that taken with other written evidence, it may be concluded that there was a bountiful inclusion of music within the large-scale

¹ Carl Sagan (1934-1996), US astronomer. This maxim has been much discussed and in recent times in relation to the debate about the search for weapons of mass destruction.

productions of both Waller and Mansfield. If this is the case, it is a counterweight in the performance history of these shows which is usually told almost exclusively in terms of visual grandeur. In the pre-war and war-time years there was a change as music began to be used on a more human scale. Two smaller-scale productions presented during World War I, a new one by Martin Harvey and a final revision of Benson's staging, reveal music of smaller dimensions which interacted eloquently, and in some instances reflectively, with the text. Whilst only two tiny incomplete fragments from Martin Harvey survive, the Benson archive reveals more extensive evidence. There are parts of an incomplete score, tattered and much-adapted remains of some of the orchestral parts, and evidence of the musically significant changes in the production which evolved over the period 1897-1916. Both Martin Harvey and Benson viewed their productions of *Henry V* as war work, and their use of music will be considered in the historical context of the country's attitude to war.

What is known of the music of Coleman's production is only what can be learnt from his programme. The production was originally staged at the Queen's Theatre, London in 1876 and was a powerful and direct bridge, both structurally and musically, to Kean, and in scale to Calvert. Like Kean, Coleman used a female, Miss Leighton, as Clio the Muse of History, in the role of Chorus.² This was a part Mrs Calvert played for four weeks before parting from the company; she was another link to the past and an instance of the interaction between companies.³ A tableau for the battle of Agincourt echoed that of Calvert and an extended extra-textual scene, which Coleman called a 'pageant', as the King returned to London, emulated Kean's Episode. Music played an important role as his fashionably florid '*Illustrated Theatrical Programme*' states:

² John Coleman, *Henry V*, programme, Queen's Theatre, September 1876. Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive.

³ Mrs Charles Calvert, *Sixty-eight Years on the Stage* (London: Mills and Boon, 1908), p. 158.

The music, composed, selected and arranged by Mr ISAACSON, who had the honour of arranging the music upon the occasion of the last production of this piece in London by Mr CHARLES KEAN.⁴

It is not revealed how much, if any, of Isaacson's original score Coleman reused for, in the procedural norms of the times, the score belonged not to the composer but to the Kean estate. Mrs Kean's correspondence with other directors illustrates the legality of the situation. She wrote to Henry Irving allowing him to have the prompt book, scenery sketches and music score of *The Corsican Brothers* for two years, for the sum of £200, after which it would be returned to her.⁵ Another of her letters, this time to the Liverpool actor-manager Saker (see Chapter Two) further illuminates the issue. Writing about his planned production of *The Winter's Tale*, she offers to let the director study the prompt book entries and groupings, see photographs of costumes and urges him to use the music which he could copy, but not keep. For this theatrical package of knowledge, she expected to be paid £100.⁶ Coleman may have had similar negotiations with Mrs Kean (whose daughter Marie was to play the French Queen in Coleman's production) to allow Isaacson to reuse his own compositions and arrangements. Coleman's programme also reveals an additional musical highlight, a specially composed solo cornet *Fantasia Brilliant on National Welsh Melodies* entitled 'Henry Prince of Wales' by J. Hughes Thomas. Coleman, like Samuel Phelps before him in the 1850s,⁷ used extracts from 2 *Henry IV* as a 'Prologue' to his *Henry V*. Whilst the score of this cornet *Fantasia Brilliant* has not apparently been preserved, it was a glamorous showy, style of composition, and it seems a reasonable to speculate, given the title 'Henry Prince of Wales' that it was played during the crowning of the Prince of Wales during the first tableau entitled '*The Coronation of Henry V*'. Coleman cast the older

⁴ Coleman, programme.

⁵ Mrs Charles Kean, letter to Henry (later Sir Henry) Irving, March 1879 in *Henry Irving Correspondence*, ref. 2993 <<http://www.Henryirving.co.uk/index.php>> [accessed 21 November, 2011]

⁶ Wilson, M. Glen, 'Edward Saker's Revivals', *Theatre Notebook* 34, (1985)18-21.

⁷ Samuel Phelps, *Henry V*, playbill, Sadler's Wells Theatre, London, 25 October 1852. Shakespeare Birthplace Library and Archive. This production, predating Kean, has not been included in this study as nothing is known of its music (despite an in-depth search) except that the overture and incidental music (all now lost) were composed and selected by W. H. Montgomery.

actor manager Phelps as Henry IV to his own Prince of Wales, and a showy display of Welsh melodies would have made a glittering accompaniment to an extra-textual crowning ceremony. It was treated as a special attraction in the programme and was a musical feature unique to Coleman.

Coleman took ideas for restructuring the text not only from Phelps and Kean, but also from Calvert's 1872 production. He copied Calvert's innovation of the romanticised wedding ending with a grand 'pageant' showing the 'Reception of King Henry V and Katharine of Valois', thus emphasising the personal union that is signified by the diplomatic alliance. This pageant, like the Episodes of Kean and Calvert, was extra-textual and it concluded with a tableau fancifully entitled 'The Lion of England and the Lily of France'. It is reasonable to speculate that Isaacson replaced the abrupt martial music he wrote for Kean's ending with a sensitised finale appropriate for the new poeticised tableau showing the marriage of the royal couple. The programme does not reveal if Isaacson had the luxury of writing for a chorus.

Coleman's *Henry V* uses more tableaux (seven in total) than any of the other nineteenth-century productions of the play considered here.⁸ Tableau one 'The coronation of King Henry V' and tableau two 'The Fall of Harfleur', for example, were by their nature text-less scenes, and earlier chapters of this research have shown that tableaux were usually accompanied by music. Such stylised presentations were the theatrical currency of their day and their purpose was to create dramatic tension as in the Agincourt tableau. If the *Fantasia Brilliant Henry Prince of Wales* for cornet, mentioned earlier, accompanied the coronation, then something equally spectacular may have been created for the 'Fall of Harfleur' tableau; Coleman engaged at least one brass player capable of producing flashy effects and he would have been reused elsewhere in

⁸ John Coleman, *Henry V*, prompt book, 1876. Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive.

the score. (I use the masculine form as no female musician is listed until Rosabel Watson who conducted *Henry V* for the New Shakespeare Company, directed by William Bridges-Adams, at the Strand Theatre in 1916. Watson went on to work with Bridges-Adams at the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre after the war and where she composed and conducted *Henry V* in 1927). Later before the battle, Coleman's tableau characterised the English sitting by their watch fires; perhaps as in Kean's tableau, they prayed whilst gentle music aided their contemplation. The Coleman stage directions are more specific about the French tableau, which revealed an 'Orgie [sic] in the Dauphin's Tent'. The tone for the 'orgie' was probably set by a drinking song and a seductive dance. No manuscript survives from Coleman's production but the circumstantial evidence – using tableau, employing the experienced composer Isaacson, copying Calvert's wedding finale, and the inclusion of *Fantasia Brilliant* and the overt term 'Orgie' – are all indicators of significant and glamorous musical content.

Turning to Tearle, again only programme details of the music are available for his touring production of *Henry V* which in 1891 reached Bristol in September and Manchester in December. Along with fine visual effects, he employed a large choir and engaged Samuel Potter who 'composed and arranged the music'.⁹ He copied the Kean/Calvert model, developing a new score, employing large-scale musical resources, and his wife, Mrs Osmond Tearle, played the Chorus. Like Coleman, he used a prologue of scenes from 2 *Henry IV* and after the enthronement of King Henry V concluded with '*God Save the King*', by now the Victorian national anthem.¹⁰ It was not a new innovation to add a coronation together with dazzling music and spectacle. According to Odell in 1778, when Wroughton played *Henry V* there was a 'Procession from Westminster Abbey' after his coronation, and pageantry in the 1767 production

⁹ Programmes, *Henry V*, Osmond Tearle, Manchester Theatre Royal, September 1891, Birmingham Shakespeare Library, and Prince's Theatre, Bristol, September 1891. Shakespeare Birthplace Library and Archive.

¹⁰ 'The History of God Save the King' in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 6 (1837), 373.

which featured a ‘Procession from the Abbey at the Coronation with the ...Ceremony of the Champion’;¹¹ no musical details from these eighteenth-century performances survive. Nothing likewise remains of Tearle’s score and instrumental parts from a century later, but it is apparent that the orchestra played a prominent and vigorous role, performing not only the incidental music, but a selection of music, separate to the action, during the intervals. As with Calvert in 1870s New York, details of this entertainment were prominently printed in the programme, a practice that was introduced in England in the 1880s, and continued throughout the remaining period of this study. A substantial and capable band was needed for Tearle’s programme, which included a sturdy list of pieces including *Overture to Poet and Peasant*.¹²

Tearle’s production boasted ‘New and Elaborate scenery...Tableau Curtains, Properties, Mechanical Effects, Banners, Heralds, Devices, Armour...Magnificent Costumes’, and ‘One Hundred Auxiliaries, Horses and Cannons’. When on tour in Manchester, Tearle praised the work of his predecessor Calvert’s *Henry V* as ‘perhaps the most perfect production’. Significantly it was in this city, with its established reputation and enthusiasm for music, where he made space on the programme to give more details of the music. Using terminology almost identical to that of Kean on his 1859 play bill, Tearle described Potter’s music as ‘Arranged and adapted and composed...from airs as remain to us and anterior to the time of Henry and in part composed to accord with the general character of the period.’¹³ It is not possible to ascertain where in the play Potter’s music was used but this phraseology copied from Kean, suggests that he too arranged early music to give historical colour. The chorus was engaged to give ‘additional effect to the numerous *chants, dirges, and triumphal hymns*’ (my italics). Except in Tearle’s programme, I have not discovered the use of the

¹¹ George C. D. Odell, *Shakespeare: From Betterton to Irving*, 2 vols (London: Charles Scribner, 1920, repr. Dover, 1963), 1, p. 428.

¹² Franz von Suppé, *Overture Poet and Peasant* (1846).

¹³ Tearle, *Henry V*, programme, Manchester, n. d. 1891.

word ‘chant’ or ‘dirge’ in a nineteenth- and early twentieth-century *Henry V* source.

The chant may refer to the Act Four departure of the army after ‘Let there be sung *Non nobis* and *Te Deum*’, copying both Macready and Kean who used medieval music at this point. ‘Dirge’ is less obvious to source in the context of the play, although it is a word that in the context of theatrical music has an eminent precedence. In the eighteenth century funeral music of Thomas Arne and William Boyce was employed by the rival companies to create *dirges* to accompany Juliet’s funeral cortège in *Romeo and Juliet* in 1750 with the battle for audience ratings fought with the weaponry of *dirges* described by one observer as ‘more than a clash of stars, it was a battle of planets’.¹⁴ Tearle’s programme does not state where he used ‘*dirges*’, but it was obviously a promotional feature, and a precedent for a funeral procession had been initiated by Kean, and developed by Calvert into a substantial musical moment and impasse in the action, when the bodies of Suffolk and York were carried across the stage (4.8.100).

The *Bristol Mercury* praised the ‘pageants and spectacles’ adding that the ‘musical effects and choruses are well ordered and looked after’,¹⁵ but without Potter’s score, an understanding of Tearle’s music is limited to bald programmatic information and circumstantially informed guesswork. It was probably a confection of Kean’s historicised approach and Calvert’s emphasis on dramatic choral effects, for Tearle acknowledged his debt to both men in his programme.¹⁶ He expressed the hope that his staging of the entry into London, a tweak to the textual format of his predecessors which conflated the return procession and the wedding celebrations, would provide a ‘grand and fitting climax’. This was likely to have been one of the moments for

¹⁴ W.J. Macqueen Pope, ‘The Theatre Royal Drury Lane’ (London, n. d.), p. 172 in Charles Haywood, *William Boyce’s ‘Solemn Dirge’ in Garrick’s Romeo and Juliet Production of 1750*, *Shakespeare Quarterly* XI (1960), 173-185.

¹⁵ *Bristol Mercury*, 4 September, 1891, p. 8.

¹⁶ Russell Jackson, in a searching and wide-ranging essay ‘Actor-Managers and the Spectacular’ attributes Kean’s orchestration of crowds to practice learnt from Macready and followers. See Bate and Jackson, (1996), pp. 115-121.

‘triumphal hymns’ that he had advertised as an attraction, and like Calvert, he imposed and emphasised a grand emotional scene to end the performance. In the programmatic outline of both Coleman’s and Tearle’s productions a new shaping of the piece emerges; with massed crowds singing in celebration and protagonists sparkling centre stage, impressive scenes (a mixture of drama and music theatre) were introduced at the beginning and ending of the performance, and at other occasions such as the battle tableau. Large scale music sustained a dominant role at the heart of each production. Between all this, the text had to be delivered in a manner that had to meet the demands physically of large-scale performance not only to fill the arena but to counter-balance the aural dominance of large groups of musicians.

There was a flurry of productions of *Henry V* at the turn of the century, Waller and Mansfield in 1900 and in the same year Benson took his 1897 version, which he was to tour until 1916, to London for the first time. Benson’s fractured archive of music, spanning two decades, is the only original music to survive from the three productions which played in 1900, and these manuscripts will be discussed later in this chapter. Of Waller and Mansfield, in the absence of all else, two ‘remote’ pieces of commercially-produced keyboard music have been identified and each is linked to a production. These settings, both published in a keyboard arrangement for non-theatrical consumption, give an aural insight into the stylistic qualities of two late-Victorian productions; they are separately considered, each in the historical context of the two directors.

When Waller opened at London’s Lyceum on 22 December 1900, the second Boer War (1899-1902) was occupying British forces in South Africa, the relief of Mafeking was fresh in the minds of the public and a fever of war-induced hysteria was sweeping Britain. In reviewing Waller’s sumptuous and acclaimed production, some in

the press sought to conjoin Agincourt and Mafeking as great national adventures and heroised the campaigns of Colonel Robert Baden-Powell and King Henry under a banner of national invincibility:

Mr Lewis Waller has many opportunities of appearing to the fullest advantage as the martial hero [Henry V] whose invocation to the God of Battles and the following 'Feasts of Crispian' utterance are spoken with magnificent virility and in clarion-like tones...the entire English army kneeling as Henry utters the famous and ever-stirring words, that might have been written for the Mafeking defence, 'We few, we happy few, we band of brothers'.¹⁷

The doubtful moral stance of the medieval King's campaign and the ambiguity at the heart of Shakespeare's depiction of the protagonist, which absorbed literary analysts and theatre-directors alike throughout the later part of the twentieth century, had still not begun to concern literary commentators and actor managers in the late Victorian era. Waller's production continued for eighty performances, receiving accolades in the print and the illustrated press, and was reprised regularly over the following decade. The *Black and White Budget* ran a picture story with a double-page spread of photographs on two consecutive weeks in mid-January 1901, a testament to the public interest in the production:

Of all the revivals of Shakespeare which have taken place, undoubtedly *King Henry V*, at the Lyceum, is the most superb...Mr Waller's performance is a noble one...animated by a truly military spirit, and night after night the efforts of the management are appreciated by an enthusiastic audience.¹⁸

Whilst some late twentieth-century commentators have suggested that performances of *Henry V* are always a response to British foreign policy, consideration of the one available piece of music apparently from Waller's production indicates a bold late-romantic grandeur of expression, and it suggests a more complex relationship to the text

¹⁷ Lewis Waller, *Henry V*, Untitled newspaper review, 22 December 1900, Lyceum Theatre, London, n. p. Mander and Mitchenson Collection, Bristol Theatre Collection.

¹⁸ *Black and White Budget*, 'King Henry V at the Lyceum' 12 January 1901, and 19 January 1901, n. p. Mander and Mitchenson Collection, Bristol Theatre Collection.

than that of pure jingoism.¹⁹ Romanticisation of heritage, royalism, wedding fever and the cult of the star performer are some of the emotional and cultural preoccupations, I suggest, that are musically voiced within the production. The first night programme of Waller's *Henry V* states:

The Music has been specially composed for this production by MR RAYMOND ROZE, who will personally conduct the Orchestra on this occasion.²⁰

In his collaboration with Raymond Rôze (1875-1920), Waller chose a theatre musician of provenance. For example he had composed for Herbert Beerbohm Tree's *I Henry IV* in 1896. He was a composer of operettas, and a regular conductor at the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden where his grand opera *St. Joan* was staged in 1913. Son of Marie Rôze, a leading soprano with the Carl Rosa Opera company who was, according to Henry (later Sir Henry) Wood, an idol with the British public equivalent to Patti or Melba, Rôze was brought up surrounded by large-scale theatrical music-making at a national level. His music and his presence with the baton on the opening night brought kudos to Waller's production.²¹

Rôze's grandiloquent '*Wedding March from Henry V*' is the one surviving, albeit 'remote', piece from the show. On the cover of this arrangement for organ, confirming the theatrical provenance, it states: '*especially composed for the production of Shakespeare's Henry V* [my italics] at the Lyceum Theatre in London'.²² The piece (Ex. 4.1 below) is extensive in length and of commanding stature suggesting that a large orchestra, typical of the period, was employed. Four years earlier, for example,

¹⁹ Jingoism derived from the noun 'Jingo' describing one who is pushing for a fight. See popular song by G. W. Hunt from 1879 Anglo-Russian conflict: 'We don't want to fight but by jingo if we do, we've got the ships, we've got the men, and got the money too.' <<http://dictionary.oed.com/cqi.entry>> [accessed 15 December 2011]

²⁰ Lewis Waller, *Henry V*, programme, Royal Lyceum Theatre, 22 December 1900. Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive.

²¹ Henry Joseph Wood, *My Life of Music* (reprint London: Ayer Publishing, 1971), p. 57.

²² Raymond Rôze, *Wedding March for Organ* (London: Boston Music, 1910).

WEDDING MARCH

*Especially composed for the London Lyceum Theatre Production
of Shakespeare's "Henry V"*

Prepare { Swell *p*: Stopped Diap. 8' & Oboe 8'
Great *mp*: Flute 8' & string-tone 8'
Choir *p*: " " " " " "
Pedal *p*: Bourdon 16' (Ch. coupled)

RAYMOND RÔZE

Allegro vivo, alla marcia

Manual

Sw. *p* (closed)

3

3

3

3

Pedal

p

cresc.

Ex. 4.1 Music for the Espousal

Rôze, composing for *I Henry IV*, used a big sound when he wrote for mixed chorus and organ with an orchestra consisting of strings, double woodwind, four horns, four trumpets, three trombones, tuba, timpani, and a hefty range of percussion.²³

Stylistically, the *Henry V Wedding March* has features in common with two pieces of wedding music from the era that have retained popularity to the present day. There is a lyrical middle section, similar in idiom to the *Bridal Chorus* from Act Three of Richard Wagner's *Lohengrin*,²⁴ whilst it begins with commanding triplets and a descending and vigorous melodic outline stylistically akin to the wedding music (popular in the Victorian era in both the theatre and for church weddings) from Mendelssohn's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.²⁵

The imposing ‘*Wedding March*’ provided a celebratory and specifically non-martial finale for Waller’s *Henry V*. There were, as Chapter Three has shown, strong precedents for this musically enhanced wedding finale dating back to Calvert’s production, whose operatic ending was staged within the lavish surroundings of the Cathedral at Troyes. Like his predecessor, Rôze’s music does not reverberate with the

²³ Gooch and Thatcher, p. 442.

²⁴ Richard Wagner (1813-1883), *Lohengrin* (Leipzig:1848).

²⁵ Felix Mendelssohn (1809-1847), *Incidental Music to A Midsummer Night's Dream*, op.61 (1842).

formality of a union arising from diplomatic determinants or with the aura of military conquest. It contains no hint of characteristically martial rhythm but features triplets in the accompaniment patterns and, with *cantabile* melodies, exaggerated climaxes and *allargando* cadences, it speaks not of the parade ground but of the strength of a Victorian public appetite for emotional expression in music, family values, marriage and royalty. It was ten years after Waller's première in 1900, whilst the production was still being revived in London, that this *Wedding March* was published in an organ arrangement, suggesting that the *Henry V* marriage scene had harnessed a public interest in royal marriage and contained elements that couples wished to emulate on their own wedding day. It underlines an early twentieth-century interest in the celebrity of royal marriages and underpins an enduring respect for the monarchy. Queen Victoria had celebrated her Gold and Diamond Jubilees in 1887 and 1897 respectively, surrounded by pomp and ceremony, whilst the weddings of her children, and grandchildren, had been a regular feature of the second half of the nineteenth century. These were no longer private affairs as in earlier centuries and, although conducted in the relative privacy of St George's Chapel Windsor, they were nevertheless celebrity events with the crowds massing in the streets, evidence as now, of popular interest.²⁶ The cult of the individual famous person and the glamour of royal occasions were Victorian social attitudes underlined by this production, one that was not totally dominated, as in a Gary Taylor's mode of analysis, by foreign policy and response to war.

Rôze's score did not find favour with all commentators and their criticism reveals a little more of the nature and scope of the music. One critic, who generally admired the production, commented at the end of a lengthy and thorough review of the show, that the music was 'rather conventional and reminiscent of other work of the

²⁶For information on Royal Weddings <<http://www.royal.gov.uk>> accessed [15 January 2011], Hugh Keyte, 'Royal Weddings 1568/1981', *Early Music*, vol.9 (1981) 412-420, and Nigel Arch and Joanna Marscher, *The Royal Wedding Dresses* (London: Royal Palaces, 2004) especially chap.one.

same class'.²⁷ The surviving *Wedding March*, although vast and bountiful in its scope, does not suggest an innovative approach and substantiates this comment. The literary commentator H. M. Walbrook, seeing the play on 28 November 1908, praised the kingly bearing and performance of Waller, but suggested that the music in places was too intrusive for his taste, deploring that Miss Fay Davis as Chorus had to contend with 'senseless and distracting interruption of occasional 'accompaniments' by the orchestra'.²⁸ It appears that Rôze employed the nineteenth-century technique of underscoring (which I speculated earlier in this chapter was employed by Coleman and Tearle in the late 1870s and 1880s) and Walbrook found the result inappropriate, perhaps outmoded, and commented 'Surely Mr Waller cannot think that such speeches, delivered by a well-graced actress, need 'incidental music' to help them along.' The fashion for underscoring had changed since the opening of the show eight years earlier when, according to the enthusiastic coverage in the *Black and White Budget*, 'Miss Lily Hanbury...standing upon a pedestal, recited the lines...with fine elocutionary effect'.²⁹

It is also worth noting that, writing in 1911, Walbrook remembered the performance in historically nationalistic, not foreign policy terms when he recalled:

With the part of the King so gallantly impersonated, the whole thing became a sort of superb trumpet-call. After thrilling Englishmen for more than three centuries, it still quickens the imagination and fires the heart.

Unlike the earlier press commentators in 1900, Walbrook gave no hint of nineteenth-century imperialistic overtones in his response. The ferment of the Boer War having faded, he made no reference to contemporary parallels, and equally there is no pre-World War One anxiety expressed in his reaction to the production. He remembered the romanticised effects of Waller's production and performance which to him seemed

²⁷ Untitled newspaper review, 22 December 1900, n. p. Mander and Mitchenson Collection, Bristol Theatre Archive.

²⁸ H. M. Walbrook, *Nights at the Play* (London: Hain-Smith, 1911), pp. 89-91.

²⁹ *Black and White Budget*, 19 January 1901, p. 509.

as a trumpet call, thrilling the heart and the imagination with gallantry. It was an interpretation that Rôze's expressive style would have sealed with lashings of rich sounds. To return to the second piece of 'remote' evidence from 1900, the provenance of this piece was not immediately apparent. It is an elegant piano piece headed *Henry V: Danse Antique*, composed by Max S. Witt,³⁰ published in London for the domestic



Ex. 4. 2 *Danse Antique* published in London

market. Like *Fill all the Glasses*, this music is located in the music division of the British Library unconnected to theatrical music; it offered a conundrum. *Danse Antique* bears no indication which *Henry V* production (if any) it may have been derived from.³¹ Briefly, the research turned on intuition. The instance of the second-name initial, a transatlantic-sounding appellant, caused the focus to shift to New York, where Mansfield produced *Henry V* opening on 3 October 1900 at the Garden Theatre. The link between Witt's *Henry V Danse Antique* and Mansfield was not confirmed until a

³⁰ Max S. Witt, *Henry V: Danse Antique* (London: Joseph Stern, 1900). British Library.

³¹ Christopher Scrobie, Music Reference Department British Library, has confirmed there is no other indicator of the theatrical provenance of the item; it was received (17 November 1900) via Legal Deposit. <music-collections> bl.uk [accessed 4 January 2013]

second copy (Fig. 4.1) was located in the Library of Congress.³² This copy, headed *Henry V Dances* [sic] *Antique* also dated 1900, was published in New York.³³ The two editions are identical musically except for spellings of the title, but the cover of the American edition carries more information. Despite the fractured condition of the



Fig. 4.1 Music cover showing dedication to Richard Mansfield

copy, its heading revealed sufficient to establish a possible theatrical provenance of the piece: ‘Authorized and Dedicated [by sp]ec[ial permission to] Richard Mansfield now presenting his magnificen[t produc]tion of *Henry V*’.³⁴ ‘Max S. Witt’ is acclaimed on the front cover as composer also of *First Violin Waltzes*, and others items advertising

³² Max S. Witt, *Henry V: Dances Antique* (New York: Jos. W. Stern, 1900). Paul Wilstach Collection of Richard Mansfield Papers, box 1 folder 6, Library of Congress. The dedication in this fractured heading has recently been confirmed by a third copy located in UCLA digital library programme digital2.1@ucla.edu [accessed 1 January 2013]

³³ I shall use the spelling ‘Danse antique’ for consistency.

³⁴ Wilstach Collection.

his popularity as a prolific theatrical composer on Broadway, where many of his songs were dedicated to the leading artistes of the day.

It was a time when American forces were fighting a bloody imperialistic war in the Philippines (1899-1902), and a patriotic and militaristic vein runs through Witt's output of marches and dances such as *The Homeland Welcome*, the march *Ride o'the Line* and a quick step *On Parade*.³⁵ In 1899 Witt worked with Mansfield at the Garden Theatre composing for the play *The First Violin* (waltzes from the play are mentioned above), and Mansfield may have decided to stage *Henry V* because of the climate of war that existed in America, not unlike that in London where the Boer War conflict affected public taste. It seems a likely (although unproven) explanation that after Witt's and Mansfield's successful 1899 partnership, the following year they worked together on the next enterprise, *Henry V*, with Witt composing and arranging, not just *Danse Antique*, but the whole new score; perhaps his previous output of military marches was a deciding factor in his engagement. This is speculation, for now the dance is the only remaining 'remote' proof of that partnership and, although there is no hint to suggest someone else composed the full score, there is likewise no conclusive evidence to support the case that it was Witt for neither of Mansfield's biographers Paul Wilstach, or William Winter, mentions the composer of *Henry V*.³⁶ There is no correspondence concerning the issue surviving in his letters.³⁷ I shall proceed to a full analysis of *Danse Antique* as being remote evidence of music from Mansfield's *Henry V* whilst retaining a cautious approach to any suggestion that he composed more.

³⁵ Max S. Witt: Over one hundred marches, dances and songs are variously shown in British Library, H.3981-.H3992.

³⁶ Paul Wilstach, *Richard Mansfield: The Man and the Actor* (New York: Chapman Hall, 1908) and William Winter, *Life and Art of Richard Mansfield with Selections from his Letters*, 2 vols (New York: Moffat, 1910).

³⁷ I am indebted to Jennifer Brathorde of the Library of Congress for assistance. She searched manually for mention of Max S. Witt in the *Paul Wilstach Collection of the Papers of Richard Mansfield*, Manuscript Division. She found no relevant information or correspondence relating to the involvement of Witt.

The dance reveals that, befitting the spelling of ‘Danse’ in the title, it has, with its lush late nineteenth-century harmony and broad chords, the phrasing and structure of a neo-baroque French gavotte. A gavotte was, historically, a dance of high French social standing. With an arching melody and rhythmical structure of down-ward leaning slurred third and fourth beats suggestive of a low-bowing dance movement, the sixteen-bar dance structure of *Danse Antique* is typical of a gavotte derivative. At the court of the Sun King Louis XIV, the innovator of the gavotte was Jean-Baptiste Lully (1632-1687), the dancer and composer. A hint of the French aristocracy in the music would have been appropriate if the play followed Calvert’s model as entertainment in the scene of the Dauphin with his courtiers before the battle (3.7). *Danse Antique* is an *allegretto* movement lasting about seven minutes and the length suggests a substantial dance scene. Mansfield’s 1901 published play text (which, although termed an ‘acting version’ is thin on directorial detail and indicators of performance practice) makes no mention of the dance but, as this would have been an extra-textual scene, its absence from a prompt book or script is not unusual. There is strong confirmatory evidence that Mansfield employed dancers; his biographer Wilstach, writing in 1908, described how rehearsal rooms were hired for *Henry V* in Madison Square for the ‘drilling’ of choristers (the only mention of the actual musicians involved) and the instruction of the dancers as they were ‘taught the rhythm of their dance’.³⁸ It seems likely that the high status gavotte was performed to entertain the French nobles on the night before the battle, after which Constable and Orleans discussed their armour and horses and vowed ‘we shall have each a hundred Englishmen’. It is established that the scene ended musically as they made their way off-stage; the acting edition states *Night song* as the French exit.³⁹ No trace of this song, either on a theatrical manuscript or ‘remote’ has been found, but an offstage serenade by an accomplished and popular composer such as

³⁸ Wilstach, p. 350

³⁹ Richard Mansfield, *Acting Version of King Henry V* (New York: McClure and Phillips, 1900), n. p.

Witt, would have added an atmosphere of Broadway chic to the pre-battle dramatic moment. Witt composed with accomplished elegance, and a scene containing a dance and a serenade would have been one of gentility and escapism within a war story. Maybe Mansfield saw this as a way to characterise the French perhaps not as arrogant and indolent, but eloquently aristocratic in taste; either way it was an opportunity to treat his audience to lyrical, non-militaristic music. He may also have looked back to Kean and Coleman who claimed to use music ‘anterior’ to the action and asked his composer to compose accordingly; the result (somewhat anachronistically) a neo-baroque *Danse Antique*. If we accept that the dance was from the show, then it follows that patrons who bought the piano version of *Danse Antique* to perform in their refined drawing rooms would have wished to be reminded of a significant aspect of the performance. It seems likely therefore that they were not being reminded of a risqué French scene (such as were being seen in London - see Benson’s music later in this chapter), but Mansfield, like Calvert his predecessor in New York, gave the audience music and dancing of respectable sophistication, not European naughtiness, in the French camp.

Further evidence of Mansfield’s approach to the use of music comes from the definitive evidence of his own published acting edition of the play and from biographers. Taken together they create a large-scale aural environment surrounding the play and it is one into which the length and sophistication of *Danse Antique* would have fitted well. Mansfield’s Episode was plainly influenced by Calvert, whose production was the last time the play had been seen in New York. It was musically underpinned and on an equally vast scale. Wilstach recalled that when the King returned victorious to London, the scene was invested with singing and dancing, and his description strongly resembled the medieval citation originally quoted (see Chapter Two) by Kean:

Against a background of pulsing music broke the cry of vendors ... shouts of boys ... blare of trumpets ... bells of Westminster ... troop of maidens in flowing white danced forth ... chantrey [sic] choir of scarlet-vested cathedral boys ... King Henry on his white horse.⁴⁰

The detail of white dresses, the choir boys, the bells and even the white horse were the same and Wilstach mentioned the 'pulsing' music, suggesting that Mansfield's Episode, like Kean's and Calvert's, was a mixture of spectacle and sound. The New York audience was enthralled and the press, under the headline 'Richard Mansfield triumphs as the Warlike Harry', enthused the following day: 'It is not more likely that a more beautiful and effective picture has ever been set on the stage'.⁴¹

Working alongside Witt on *The First Violin*, Mansfield made his opinions on the dramatic value of music known. For the play he did not want much 'singing or piano playing', for his purpose was not simply to entertain (he had put behind him his original career in light comedy, melodrama and operetta), but he sought to make his work serious and relevant.⁴² Both biographers reveal that he was fluent and experienced in his use of music as Winter recalled:

He knew perfectly well the peculiar value of music, when rightly used, in association with the drama ... he would use music, both vocal and instrumental ... superbly effective, arousing lively delight and winning wholehearted applause.⁴³

His stage direction for the ending of *Henry V* (cited in full below) indicates a rich use of music and, uniquely of all the other productions at this period he omitted all of the text of the diplomacy between the French and English that follows the wooing (5.2.271-358). The performance moved from the intimate scene between Henry and Katharine straight into the enactment of the Espousal accompanied by music in the Cathedral at Troyes.⁴⁴ The lengthy stage direction indicates not only the measure of religiosity and

⁴⁰ Wilstach, p. 353.

⁴¹ *New York Times*, 4 October 1900, n. p.

⁴² Winter, p. 246.

⁴³ Winter, p. 247.

⁴⁴ Mansfield, *Acting Version*, n. p.

ceremony added to the action, but outlines clearly when sacred and celebratory music underpinned the action:

ACT FIVE: *The THIRD scene*

(Interior of the Cathedral at Troyes. Ceremony of the Espousal of KING HENRY and the PRINCESS KATHERINE)

Right and left outside the chancel screen stand French and English nobles. Enter the surplined choir of boys and men, singing. (my emphasis) They march into the chancel and dispose themselves either side of the altar. Following the choir, crucifers and thurifers, come three Archbishops in full canonicals. The ecclesiastics ascend the steps of the high altar. The FRENCH KING leads in the PRINCESS KATHERINE in her bridal robes, the train borne by six pages of Valois in pure white. The DUKE of BURGUNDY escorts QUEEN ISABEL, followed by LADY ALICE, the French Court and attendants. They dispose themselves without the chancel on the left. KING HENRY, preceded by eight pages of Lancaster, enters from the opposite side. The English nobles in full armour follow him, and dispose themselves outside the chancel on the right. KING HENRY advances to the foot of the altar and genuflects to receive the prelates' blessing. He returns and leads PRINCESS KATHERINE to the foot of the altar. They and all kneel while the ARCHBISHOP of SENS blesses them. The choir breaks forth into a joyous Gloria. (my emphasis) (Curtain)

The END of the FIFTH ACT¹

The final phrase 'The choir breaks forth into a joyous Gloria' suggests an uplifting choral ending that was at once religious, brilliant and celebratory. Although staged in the republic of the United States of America, these directions retain the old-country flavour of a well-established monarchy. The deep-rooted American antagonism from the late-eighteenth and first part of the nineteenth century to Englishness, and the English aristocracy, had by now receded, according to Kim C. Sturgess, with the establishment of a new hierarchical middle class in the republic.⁴⁵ Shakespeare, since the 1790s, had been the new country's own playwright, but as Sturgess has pointed out, the history plays had not readily found a place in the transatlantic canon. Nevertheless here was spectacle emulating Calvert, who had taken this play about England at war, to the land where only the English had ever invaded. Mansfield's production was similar to that being shown by Waller in London, with the king and the English nobles dressed

⁴⁵ Kim C. Sturgess, *Shakespeare and the American Nation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 61-75.

in their full armour and splendour. Unlike Waller's secular wedding piece, here was a religiously joyful musical ending. It is set in heightened scenic splendour with all the imagery, familiar then as now, of a royal wedding. By the end of the nineteenth century, with the proliferation of the print media and the use of photography, information travelled the world. Mansfield's wedding of Henry to Princess Katharine of Valois may have reminded New York audiences of images of Queen Victoria's grandson, the future George V when seven years earlier he married Princess Mary of Teck.⁴⁶ Exeter's diplomatic wrangling (5.2.321-327) and King Charles's hope that 'never war advance / His bleeding sword twist England and fair France' (5.2.339-340) and Shakespeare's Epilogue, with its hint of an uncertain future for the royal line, are all eliminated. It was a dénouement that gave the play for its American audience a hybrid presentation of music, religion and regal pageantry far removed from independence, republicanism and the rumbling continued antagonism between America and England.

The production was an extraordinary success. In New York the whole house cheered wildly as the king entered London in the Episode. The audience became for those moments participants in the theatrical event, part of a gigantic wave of excitement. The orchestral music would have been appropriately bold and loud, and together with bells and voices, it portrayed the medieval street in a memorable theatrical mêlée. The New York Times columnist, in praise, cast his net widely when he proclaimed: 'We need not talk now about the Meininger, and the management of crowds at Bayreuth'.⁴⁷ Linking the press reports, the biographer's descriptions and the traces of music, it becomes possible to re-imagine the enthusiasm and emotions of the audiences of 1900, and find a new theatrical understanding of the aural experience of Mansfield's performances.

⁴⁶ For more details of nineteenth-century royal marriages see Dr Joanna Marscher, Senior Curator at Historic Royal Palaces < <http://fashion.telegraph.co.uk> > [accessed 6 February 2012] and for a more extensive discussion of changing appearance, see Arch and Marscher, *The Royal Wedding Dresses*, 2004.

⁴⁷ *New York Times*, 4 October 1900.

The third actor manager who staged *Henry V* in this war-time era at the turn of the century was Benson. Benson had launched his production in 1897 and it had featured regularly in his year-long tours of the country and at the annual Shakespeare festivals in Stratford. He was keen to conquer the London scene, and in a short season in February 1900 presented a seven-play repertory, which included *Henry V*. This placed severe demands on his company for shortly before, whilst touring in Newcastle, a theatre fire had destroyed all the company's sets and costumes. Nevertheless, with borrowed effects, Benson proceeded with his ambition to put his company onto the London stage at the Royal Lyceum, which had been until very recently the venue for Henry Irving's lavish and heavily musical-endowed productions.⁴⁸ Benson featured the name of composer Michael Balling (who had by this time left the company) prominently on the front cover of *Henry V*. Balling often worked with the company, at the Stratford Festivals if not on tour, and he was both the musical director and composer when *Henry V* was first mounted in 1897. Constance Benson described him as a musician who 'composed wonderful music for many of our productions'.⁴⁹ Benson promised further musical treats by listing in print larger than the main cast names: 'Mr Stedman's Choir'. Mrs Benson explained in her memoirs that normally they were on a tight touring budget and rarely deployed the expense of a chorus except for very popular productions of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Tempest*, when dancers travelled from London, and singers and soloists either toured or were recruited regionally. It has been noted earlier that choirs or choruses were expensive and their engagement was a marketing feature for directors. 'Mr Stedman's Choir' was a boy's choir, and since the 1880s succeeding groups of boys had been employed on the London stage to bring colour to gothic dramas such as *Jekyll and Hyde* and *The Ripper*.⁵⁰ Their inclusion is

⁴⁸ Constance Benson, *Bensonian Memories* (London: Thornton Butterworth, 1926), p. 172.

⁴⁹ Constance Benson, p. 176.

testimony to Benson embracing techniques from the popular theatre, and also taking extra steps to meet the expectations of audiences in the capital.

Benson's performance was described as 'stirring as a silver trumpet' and a 'star of England'.⁵¹ The wartime spirit of the Boer War, which later in the year surrounded the critical response to Waller's *Henry V*, inspired Benson's London performances in the spring of 1900:

Benson was not too tired to speak for England ... The play came through as a national anthem in five acts, its tale of triumph told now at a time when, out in South Africa, the blast of war raged in dire earnest, Ladysmith was beleaguered, and the battle at Spion Kop had been lost.⁵²

Trewin, writing in the mid-twentieth century, based his assessment of these performances on the reminiscences of former, and by then elderly, Bensonians and it develops an image of nationalistic intent. Central to Benson's philosophy was the synergy and symbiosis between theatre and foreign affairs; his approach, that of the 'quintessential soldier-king' was what Smith has defined as the 'cultural auxiliary of imperialism' and was the only production in this era that I found that answered the analysis that the staging was a response to foreign policy.⁵³ This paradigm was never far from Benson's thinking and later in his career his approach to World War One was similarly driven.

Whilst the archive of the music of Benson's *Henry V* is incomplete, its tattered contents present an insight into the musical content of the production that evolved for almost two decades.⁵⁴ Balling used the *Agincourt Song* several times and opened the Overture with this melody. Instrumental parts in the archive are fragmentary or

⁵⁰ Martin A Danahay and Alex Chisholm, *Jekyll and Hyde Dramatized* (North Carolina: MacFarland and Company, 2005) p. 164.

⁵¹ T. C. Kemp and J. C. Trewin, *The Stratford Festival: A History of the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre* (Birmingham: Cornish Brothers, 1853), p. 41.

⁵² J. C. Trewin, *Benson and the Bensonians* (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1960), p. 109.

⁵³ Smith, p. 35.

⁵⁴ Benson, *Henry V* manuscripts, Benson Collection, Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive.

missing, and no conductor's score from this period survives, but cello part is intact and shows the length and the outline structure of the Overture. It was conservative, shaped similarly to Isaacson's Overture for Kean forty years earlier:

Adagio - Agincourt Song
Allegro moderato - triple time
Allegro vivace - longer section triple time
Andante -32 bars triple time
Lento Alla Marcia - a slow march building to *ff* ending

The modal medieval *Agincourt Song*, marked *adagio*, created a slow and sombre opening to the evening and it finished grandly with a steady march, suggestive of patriotism and pageantry. Later in the play Balling used quicker military marches to vivify the campaign but in this prelude he fore-grounded dignity and grandeur.

Balling's Overture was at some point replaced, although when this happened is not apparent. The set of parts from the 1913 Company tour of South Africa,⁵⁵ about which little is known,⁵⁶ began with an opening fanfare to Act One and showed no generic overture. A note on headed notepaper from the Grand Hotel, Bloemfontein loose with the set lists *Overture Light Cavalry* indicating that Balling's original Overture was, at least on that tour, replaced.⁵⁷

. The music to open the first act, from the evidence of both the Benson Archive and the South African set, shows a simple, short trumpet fanfare. This short elemental fanfare is an example of the brevity and functionality of Benson's music. Benson did not like music and was not interested in it, and he did not use music as a form of artistic self expression within his productions. On the contrary, Vaughan Williams would find that Benson had no feeling for the suitability of the incidental music, but just regarded it

⁵⁵ Benson, *Henry V*, bound set of parts containing evidence pointing to the South African tour. S722.06. Birmingham Shakespeare Library.

⁵⁶ I am grateful to Prof. Martin Orkin of University of Haifa for correspondence on the history of Shakespearean performance in South Africa, and for pointing me to public libraries in Grahamstown, Durban and to the Shakespeare Association of South Africa. None appear to have archival material relating to touring English companies in the pre-World War One period. See also David Johnson, *Shakespeare in South Africa* (London: Clarendon Press, 1996) whose research similarly shows absence of evidence for the period 1890-1930.

⁵⁷ Note headed 'The Grand Hotel, Bloemfontein, OFS [Orange Free State]', in orchestral parts.

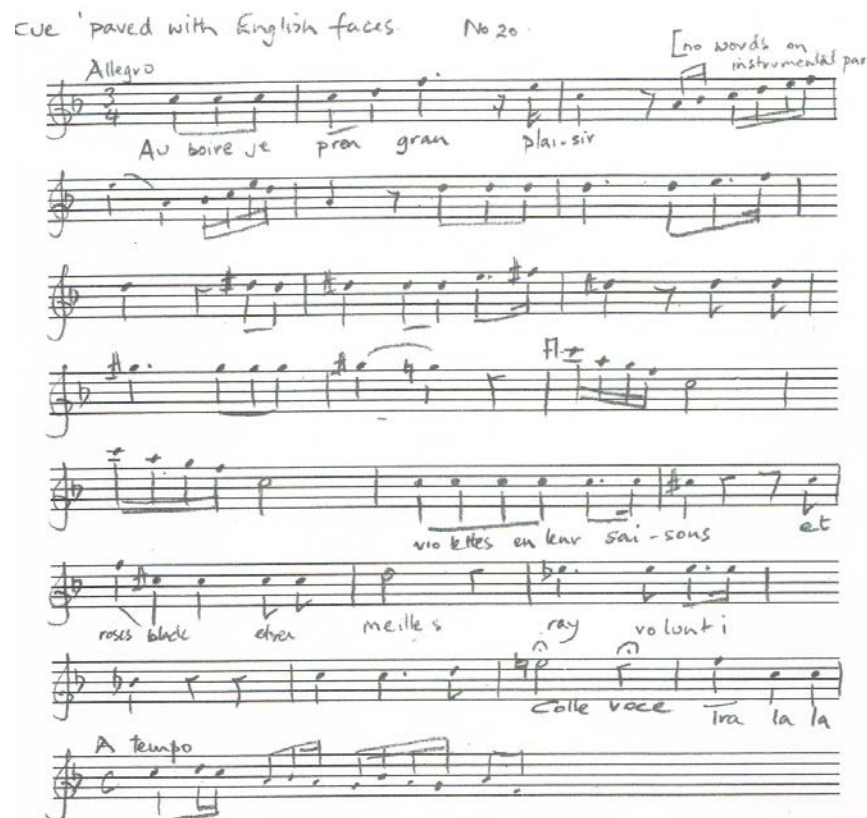
as something that ‘had to be there’, presumably to cover scene changes, and entrances and exits.⁵⁸ Benson’s use of the *Agincourt Song* endured for some years and occurred at several key moments. Following the King’s declaration ‘let there be sung...’ the soldiers sang it as they prepared to leave the battlefield and depart for England ‘where ne’er from France arrived more happy men’ (4.8.121-124). The modal fifteenth-century strophic song with the traditional but non-Shakespearean words described the Agincourt campaign: ‘The King went forth to Normandy’. The opening and repeated refrain of the song *Deo Gracias* invoked Henry’s religious justification for action and the successive verses reflected the soldierly activity of King and troops and lent an appropriately gritty tone to the scene. This muscular melody with simple strong part-writing (suitable for voices or instruments, or sung in unison) suggests that the end of this scene focused on the aftermath of the battle, and it was expressed within a religious and simple folk-song aesthetic. The *Agincourt Song* was later used to end a scene which focuses on the individual’s less praiseworthy response to battle when Pistol exited after deciding ‘To England I will steal ...and patches I will get unto these cudgelled scares/ And swear I got them in the Gallia wars’ (5.2.79-82). Finally, the song was repeated after the king’s wooing of Princess Katherine (5.2) before the final diplomatic dénouement. The repetition of the *Agincourt Song* was possibly the serendipitous result of Benson’s indifference to music, but the effect of these repeats of the medieval modal melody would have added a consistency and tone that was specific to the overall ethos of the production. Each occurrence of the tune was probably brief (it is not always apparent from the parts if they were to be repeated), just sufficient to serve the theatrical needs of getting actors on and off the set. It is possible to establish from the second violin part that at the end of Act Four it was actually sung as a climax to the scene although no vocal copy remains. The second violinist is directed to go on stage and the words *Deo*

⁵⁸ Ursula Vaughan Williams, *R.V.W.: A Biography of Vaughan Williams* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 103-104.

Gracias are cued. They began *a cappella* and this built to an orchestral-accompanied climax. Possibly the violinist established pitch for the otherwise unaccompanied singers, or supported the voices or perhaps other instrumentalists, whose parts are missing, went likewise. It seems likely that on tour the cast of soldiers sang the song (as opposed to a specially recruited chorus) but perhaps Mr Stedman's Choir added quality at the Lyceum. How long the song endured in the production is impossible to gauge from the incomplete fragments of parts but clearly it was eventually omitted for there is no hint of the *Agincourt Song* in the set of parts that one of the Benson Companies took to South Africa late in 1913.

It was a measure of Balling's qualities and his status as a musician internationally, that he left the company to work as an opera director at the prestigious Wagner festival in Bayreuth. This was not before he had used his operatic credentials to compose a fashionably-operatic French waltz song for the Dauphin's camp scene following the Constable's lines (3.7.76-77) 'Will it never be day? I will trot tomorrow a mile, and my way shall be paved with English faces' (Ex. 4.3 below). The seductive soprano aria, that segued into a Moorish dance, was the scene in Benson's production that in the London press provoked the strongest criticism described as: 'heretical innovations in the introduction of dallying dancers and quasi comic-opera music'.⁵⁹ Benson continued and exaggerated the nineteenth-century musical tradition explored in previous chapters of depicting the French in decadent mode, and took music of the pre-battle scene to its most extreme form.

⁵⁹ Unattributed press report, 22 December 1900. It compares Waller and Benson's *Henry V*. Mander and Mitchenson Theatre Collection, Bristol Theatre Collection.



Ex. 4.3 Soprano solo cued on flute part 'Au Boire'⁶⁰

The aria *Au Boire* is in the fashionable idiom of the waltz song and in this context it characterises the French as unrestrained and pleasure seeking. It is not a flattering picture of the French officer class; mistrust and antagonism to the French had prevailed in England from the eighteenth century, arising both from the contrary notions of the fear of a spread of revolutionary ideas, and from the decadence that was equated with royal and aristocratic French morals and living styles. Extra-textual old-French lyrics described the pleasures of drinking 'Au boire je prens gran plaisir' to create a diversion from the action. The text of the complete song has not survived but this opening line is shown on the flute part, which contains the melody and some idiomatic flute flourishes between phrases. Examples from nineteenth-century operas demonstrate how Benson and Balling created a showy musical highlight to pander to popular taste. Balling's waltz song is reminiscent of Johann Strauss's 'Mein Herr Marquis', a sensual

⁶⁰ Hand copy of flute part in Benson's orchestral music. This is the only trace of the song. Copied by kind permission of Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive, May 2008.

party song for soprano in Act Two of *Die Fledermaus* (1874), first heard in London in 1895. Musetta's waltz from Act Two of Puccini's *La Bohème* (1896) is similarly the enticing song of a loose, attractive young woman who entertains a noisy crowd and this received its English première in Manchester in 1897, the same year as Benson mounted his equally pleasure-seeking French scene. Balling's aria, with its upwards chromatic movement and downward sugary slurs, captured the seductive qualities of the genre and it led seamlessly into a wild dance which is marked *colle voce* meaning literally *free, on the voice*. This is reminiscent of the scene in Bizet's *Carmen* (1875) where Carmen and her gipsy friends sing, then dance, with a wild *tra la la* refrain for the off-duty officers. Balling likewise wrote enticing *tra la la*'s in an energetic 2/4 dance; pencilled on the manuscript is the instruction 'Realistic Moorish Dance'. There appears little doubt that Balling and Benson wanted to create a climate in the French camp of decadence but they were also providing their late-Victorian English audience with vicarious pleasures of the flesh. Benson was a Quaker and adopted a high moral tone in his life's work of bringing Shakespeare to the people, but he also was a man of the theatre and he used the mores of the day to please his audience. Benson's French scene music does not speak of warfare but it may have revealed that for some in the audience, below a façade of respectability, there lurked a desire for a release into the pleasures of *la belle époque*.

Benson accommodated the singer and dancer on his *Henry V* cast list as a 'camp followers'. One of his performers, who frequently covered both songs and dances in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Tempest*, was Miss Cissie Saumerez, and she appeared in the London season of 1900. Isadora Duncan took the role for a while and was criticised by Constance Benson, who disdainfully dismissed the abstract *art nouveau* style of Duncan. Mrs Benson felt Duncan 'was never quite at home in the Bacchanalian dances' and lacked the provocative qualities necessary for the portrayal:

At the time, Isadora Duncan's style of dancing was a novelty, and she quickly danced her way into popularity. She ... lacked abandon in the French Camp scene in *Henry V*. [It] annoyed her exceedingly to be clad as an ordinary mortal.⁶¹

In 1911 the camp followers were the singer Cissie Saumarez and dancer Violet Cecil, both performing, according to the *Stratford Herald* in a 'charming manner'.⁶² This was in the spring festival, when Lewis Waller made a guest appearance with the company at the Festival as King Henry, adding dignity and lustre to the role and gaining approval for his version of the wooing scene.⁶³ The play was programmed again in the summer festival when the press again commented, this time critically, on the French scene:

He [Benson] continues his innovation of dallying dancers in the French camp scene, which is very pretty, but perhaps not consistent with Shakespearean precedent.⁶⁴

Despite fifteen years of French 'dallying' there is no hint from the cast lists, press or the fragments of music that the English army, seemingly morally pure, had camp followers. It sustains a streak of moralistic xenophobia which the music of all the productions from Kean onwards illuminated.

Although the music for Benson's long running *Henry V* is incomplete, with parts missing and abundant evidence of minor adjustments made during the near twenty-year life of the production, there is sufficient quantity to reflect aspects of the overall tone of the production. Other than the *Agincourt Song* and the French song and dance scene, the punctuations are very brief fanfares, and marches for entrances and exits. The South African set shows an extended passage, several minutes long of frantically-busy instrumental writing which extends throughout the battle and ends in a tableau. The style of composition is flashy but superficial, similar to the weaker moments of scene-change music from Kean's production fifty years earlier. The use of a tableau by 1913 was old fashioned, reminiscent of the 1870s and 80s. No other Benson source includes

⁶¹ Constance Benson, p. 176. She does not give dates for Duncan's appearances.

⁶² *Stratford upon Avon Herald*, 5 May 1911.

⁶³ *Birmingham Post*, 6 May 1911.

⁶⁴ *Stratford upon Avon Herald*, 28 July 1911.

these and its use may have been peculiar to the arm of the company that undertook the tour. Generally Benson, unlike his contemporaries, did not seek to make his productions grandiose with musical embellishment. Trewin describes his style as pictorially in the ‘traditional mode’ and, whilst aiming for spectacle, admits it was less lavish than before the fire of 1899.⁶⁵ By 1904 there were, for a while, four Bensonian troupes and as Trewin notes, every place of a moderate size saw a Benson company. He said that the grim condition of the scenery and effects spoke of the ‘railway sidings of England’. The extant music copies are in a similar fragmented, poor condition and the proliferation of companies contributes to the difficulty of charting the music between 1897 and about 1912. The archive of snippets of music is in places randomly gathered, parts are incomplete, and scores missing.

Musical directors, and composers and arrangers, changed frequently and in small venues the first violinist doubled as conductor, leaving scribbled notes for the player who would take on the task the following week in another town. The condition of the musical remnants in the archive is the consequence of the years of usage and minor production changes, and of the markings made by successive players in cramped and dimly-lit orchestra pits. For the festivals a musical director was engaged and an ambitious part of the entertainment was the interval performance under the baton of a notable musician. The names of Stanley Cooper, George G. Halford and P.Dambman crop up in addition to Balling and Christopher Wilson in the early years. George W. Collins in 1902 directed the orchestra in a movement from Schubert’s *Unfinished Symphony* and the march from Wagner’s *Tannhäuser*. Henry Caville conducted a weighty programme including Mendelssohn’s *Fingals’ Cave Overture* and the introduction the Act Three *Lohengrin* prelude in 1906 Festival, whilst Alfred Gilmer and Mark Strong are also known to have conducted at the festivals in 1909 and 1911

⁶⁵ J. C. Trewin, p. 145.

respectively.⁶⁶ Despite the roster of directors, the musical skeleton of his *Henry V* remained the same. Musically, it was functional and conservative (apart from *Au Boire*), the harmonic and melodic language owed its origins to the first half of the nineteenth century, and it by-passed or ignored the brighter musical excesses of melodrama and the intensity of operatic writing. This study does not extend to the 1920s and 1930s but if it did, some of the post-war, meagre, functionally-unimaginative Shakespearian theatre music of this time may be said to have its roots in directors like Benson.⁶⁷ His work suffered from the exigencies of touring and also reflected a changing appetite for emotional excess in the pre-war era. Benson lacked the musical largesse of the Victorian age but he did not creatively replace it with any experimental modernity, naturalism and *verisimo* befitting the new era. One man, however, made a small but significant musical contribution to Benson's work.

The eminent musician, Vaughan Williams, arrived as conductor for the spring and summer festivals at Stratford in 1912 and 1913. The composer was by then in the forefront of English musical life, having co-edited the *English Hymnal* (1906), and his *Fantasia on a Theme of Thomas Tallis* (1910) had been premièred to acclaim at the Three Choirs Festival at Gloucester.⁶⁸ He found Benson uninterested in music and the changes that he wrought were not readily accepted.⁶⁹ He found the gaiety of the festival experience and friendship of theatrical people new and enthralling, but he deplored the more trite aspects of provincial theatre music. Unlike German or Sullivan, he was not exposed to the large London companies with their extensive orchestras; at the Stratford festivals he had to cope with a small band of regional players, and the stale musical

⁶⁶ Benson, *Henry V*, playbills circa 1902-1911. Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive.

⁶⁷ The Royal Shakespeare Archive contains a range of pre-World War Two scores and parts from productions of *Henry V* by William Bridges-Adams (1927 and 1934), and Ben Iden Payne (1937). Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive,

⁶⁸ For a full discussion of the work and influence of Ralph Vaughan Williams see Wilfred Mellors, *Vaughan Williams and the Vision of Albion* (London: Basil and Jenkins, 1989).

⁶⁹ Ursula Vaughan Williams, p. 103.

offerings of a company whose productions had been touring nonstop for nearly two decades. There were technical difficulties too and the coordination between Vaughan Williams and stage was criticised in the local press. A new, lowered pit had been installed and if the conductor positioned himself to see the singers on stage then he was out of the visual ambit of the players. The result was that musically, some early performances were of poor quality and Vaughan Williams struggled to achieve adequate rehearsal time to remedy the situation.⁷⁰

He was not allowed to change many aspects of the repertoire, but he was allowed a free hand with the history plays and was committed to introducing music that was contemporary to the action. He arrived at Stratford armed with historical music to insert into the plays although he found the company ‘wedded to their conventional incidental music’.⁷¹ Despite this, the new director removed Balling’s operatically-inspired waltz song from the French pre-battle scene (3.7) and replaced it with a simple French folk-song melody. At the time many Stratford theatregoers signed up for the folk song-and-dance gatherings in the Bancroft Gardens which were organized to coincide with the Shakespeare festivals. Vaughan Williams’ impact on the plays was a reflection of this wider cultural preoccupation with music arising out of the folk heritage, and his own musical enthusiasm for folk-song preservation, an imperative that was equally driving other European composers such as Kodály, Bartók and Holst. Vaughan Williams was committed to uncovering and preserving old traditional tunes and in a change from the usual Bensonian musical diet for the *Merry Wives of Windsor* he devised entre’acte music based on *Greensleeves* and the Norfolk tune *Lovely Joan*,⁷² which he had collected in 1908; he introduced adaptations of English folk dances for the

⁷⁰ J.C. Trewin, p. 146.

⁷¹ Ursula Vaughan Williams, p. 104.

⁷² *Merry Wives of Windsor*, Benson manuscript fragments. Shakespeare Birthplace Library and Archive.

Windsor Forest scenes,⁷³ and in *Richard II* he again introduced *Greensleeves*⁷⁴ for the gardener's scene (3.4).⁷⁵ He gave the theatre audience not only melodic settings of eloquence and nobility that reflected his passion for the beauty of English melody but he likewise immersed himself in the detail of the language. He introduced, for example, the suitably ardent *Greensleeves* in response to Falstaff's words 'Let the sky rain potatoes, let it thunder to the tune of *Greensleeves*' (5.5.19) for potatoes were, in Shakespeare's time, known as an aphrodisiac.⁷⁶ The change to a French folk dance in *Henry V* counterbalances the English medieval 'Agincourt Song' and musically, unlike the waltz song, offers no moral critique of either side in the conflict.

Vaughan Williams made an even more radical change, introducing music of a new sombre tone to the finale of the production. This new ending was rediscovered during my research into the Benson Archive. Examining each of the battered orchestral parts it became apparent that Vaughan Williams had replaced a martial ending with a slow, sombre-harmonied, hymn-like orchestral setting (Ex. 4.4 below). With a pianissimo opening, and a faltering rhythmic augmentation in bars 5-6, it rose to a climax and brought the play to an end on a note, not of triumphalism, but of thoughtful sadness. The harmonies show the influence of Vaughan Williams' recent work on *The English Hymnal*, being melodically similar to the hymn known as 'Down Ampney' *Come Down O love Divine* which set to the words of a fourteenth-century *Laudi Spirituali*, is a deeply concentrated elegy for the soul of the dead. The texture of the hymn, like his *Henry V* ending, is harmonically a mixture of late nineteenth-century

⁷³ For a discussion of Vaughan Williams' use of folk song see Roger Savage, programme notes(undated) 'Vaughan Williams, Stratford and The Merry Wives of Windsor' for English National Opera production of *Sir John in Love*. I am grateful to Peter Williams for bringing this programme to my attention in a letter,

16 November 2010.

⁷⁴ Benson Archive.

⁷⁵ *Richard II*, Benson manuscript fragments. Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive.

⁷⁶ David Crystal and Ben Crystal, *Shakespeare's Words: A Glossary and Language Companion* (London: Penguin, 2002), p. 339.



Ex. 4. 4 Vaughan Williams' new ending to the play⁷⁷

multiple chords built on a strong diatonic frame work infused with the medieval flavouring of absent leading notes and modal scale inflections. It is the harmonic language, albeit on a very much smaller scale, of the elaborate *Tallis Fantasia* which Vaughan Williams completed just a year earlier. The solemn *adagio* ending to the play is far removed in theatrical mode from the brittle *opera comique* brilliance of Balling's *Waltz Song* that the new musical director eliminated from the French courtiers scene, and it is in stark contrast to the swash-buckling marching music with which Benson had previously ended the play.

The implications of the recovery of this music in the course of this research and what it reveals of both Vaughan Williams' approach to issues of war and the audience reception in these immediate pre-war years must be reviewed against the social, cultural and political climate in Britain at the time. The new ending was performed at both the 1912 and 1913 festivals at a time when, with retrospect, it appears that war was on the

⁷⁷ I recreated this 'short' score from the individual orchestral parts with permission of the Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive, May 2007.

horizon. Three years later Vaughan Williams was a serving soldier on the Somme, and by 1916 both Frank and Constance Benson were involved in ambulance work, caring for the wounded near the front line. Looking at it today, with the accumulated understanding of the impact of the First World War, it is tempting to suggest that the new music reveals a composer rejecting bellicose military pride as Europe faced the tragedy and the futility of war. Before accepting this analysis, it is helpful to reflect on the climate of the times in pre-war Britain in order to understand if war was felt to be imminent by all or most people.

Bellicosity abounded in 1900 as the reactions to the Waller and Benson productions show, but after the South African War politicians had to accept the failures, take stock and eventually re-order Britain's armed services.⁷⁸ Haldane, Minister of War, presented reorganisation plans to Parliament in 1906.⁷⁹ It was an area of expenditure that competed with new developments in education and old age pensions, and the response was mixed. Opposing the spending, in dominating but anti-rearmament tones, Winston Churchill, doubting there would be war stated:

No other nation has ever made so dangerous and provocative provision as a force of 166,000 expressly ready at a month's notice to cross the seas and effect a descent upon the territory of another power. (17 June 1908 memorandum for Cabinet Committees on Estimates)⁸⁰

Haldane was lampooned in *Punch* for suggesting that his expansion of the army would reduce unemployment, and a cartoon depicted an overfed King Henry, alias Haldane, preparing to set off in full armour, with his army of the unemployed (see next page Fig. 4.2).⁸¹ His theatricised costume would have been familiar to many *Punch* readers through the recent productions of Waller and Benson. The line beneath gives to the

⁷⁸ Theodore Ropp, 'Conscriptions in Great Britain 1900-1914: A Failure in Civil-Military Communications?' in *Military Affairs* 2 (1956) 71-76.

⁷⁹ Edward Spiers, *Haldane: An Army Reformer* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1980), p. 14.

⁸⁰ Spiers, pp. 68-70.

⁸¹ *Punch*, 7 October, 1908, in Spiers, p. 148.

Henry/Haldane figure Warwick's doubting lines 'O that we had here/ But one ten thousand of those men in England/ That do no work today' satirising Haldane's attempts to justify unpopular expenditure on the army. The title 'A CHRONIC COMPLAINT 1415-1908' suggests that for five hundred years, from Agincourt to the present, there had been too many occasions when the army had been



Fig. 4.2 Cartoon by Bernard Partridge in *Punch*, 7 October 1908

sent to wage war: rearmament was not popularised by this image of *Henry V*. Equally the expansion of the navy and expenditure for Dreadnaught battle ships caused vehement press response and a cabinet crisis. The *Daily Mail*, a popular paper then as

now, headlined the catch phrase ‘We want eight and we won’t wait’.⁸² Rearming was not a straightforward or unifying issue for politicians and in the public arena, opinion was volatile and contradictory.

This volatility had many social and cultural manifestations. An anti-German phobia brought internment, as the south of England was feared to be crawling with spies disguised as waiters and barbers.⁸³ War became the theme of many works of popular fiction featuring valiant soldiers and romantic officers in Napoleonic colours but few, other than H.G. Wells, foresaw war on a pan-European ‘industrial scale’.⁸⁴ Invasion became a sensational theme at Wyndham’s Theatre when in 1909 *An Englishman’s Home* (written by Guy du Maurier) was staged, the *New York Times* noted:

It is all about national shortcomings-the ignorance of volunteer troops, the incompetence of officers, the complacency and worthlessness of the idle classes ... the lesson of unpreparedness has been vigorously enforced and the self-satisfaction of the Englishman made the subject of a stinging satire.⁸⁵

Eventually army offices were set up outside the theatre and the play created a ferment of recruiting. The play, now regarded as a significant work of invasion literature,⁸⁶ satirised a country unready and not thinking about war.

Other issues, such as the Anglo-Irish conference occupied the headlines and public attention until war was declared. The *Daily Mail* printed, alongside the conference headlines, CHEERS FOR THE KING, PUBLIC ENTHUSIASM

⁸² *Daily Mail* cited (undated) in Zara S. Steiner, *Britain and the Origins of the First World War* (London: Macmillan, 1977), pp. 355-370. Steiner states that the phrase originated with George Wyndham. The National Museum of the Royal Navy suggests that the Navy League, formed in 1894, which was in 1908 campaigning strongly for eight dreadnoughts, coined the phrase.

⁸³ Le Queux, ‘Spies for the Kaiser. Plotting the Downfall of England’ cited in David French, ‘Spy Fever in Britain 1900-1915’, *Historical Journal*, 2 (1978), 355-370.

⁸⁴ Marc Ferro, *La Grande Guerre*, trans. by Nicole Stone (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973), p. 27.

⁸⁵ *New York Times*, 30 January 1909, in Spiers, p. 70.

⁸⁶ Eby, Cecil D., *The Road to Armageddon: the Martial Spirit in English Popular Literature* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1988), p. 137.

YESTERDAY, STIRRING SCENES AT MUSIC-HALLS, theatre reviews that showed where the popular interest lay:

Public tributes to the King's action [at the conference] were shown in demonstrations yesterday when his Majesty appeared in the West End ... at the Hippodrome Mr Morris Harvey recited some verses ... The audience cheered the recitation to the echo, then rose with one accord to sing the National Anthem. At the end of the performance at the Empire Theatre a picture was shown on the screen of the members of the conference ... above the motto "May they succeed" ... at the Palace Theatre ... shouts of "Bravo!" and "Good King George" ... There was much cheering ... spontaneous and very impressive.⁸⁷

A tiny report at the bottom of the same page was the only hint of impending war. It reported that Germany was attempting to put the brake on the Austrians, whose Archduke Francis Ferdinand had been assassinated by the Serbs.

Not everywhere was there an appetite for war; many in the universities and commerce, and thinkers including George Bernard Shaw and Bertrand Russell, followed the pacifist theorist Norman Angell. Much in the establishment proceeded as usual: Oxford University gave an honorary Doctor of Law to Kaiser Wilhelm in 1907 and five Germans, including the composer, Richard Strauss, were honoured just two weeks before war was declared.⁸⁸ Geoffrey Barraclough sums up the desire of the upper classes to maintain the status quo:

The dominant, almost single-minded, concern of the privileged classes in 1911, whether in France, England or Germany, was the perpetuation of their own interests and the maintenance of a social order which played into their hands ... to preserve the peace of Europe, and therewith the existing social order and political structure, without endangering the security and interests of their own country.⁸⁹

As early as 1906 Keir Hardie, the labour leader, declared: 'It's budgets not barricades which chiefly interest practical socialists'.⁹⁰ As late as the eve of war he was organising mass demonstrations in London against war, claiming that the workers could unite to

⁸⁷ *The Daily Mail*, 23 July 1914.

⁸⁸ Michael Howard, 'Europe on the Eve of the First World War' in *The Coming of the First World War*, ed. by R.J.W. Evans and Hartmut Pogge von Strandmann (Oxford: Clarendon Paperbacks, 1994), p. 1.

⁸⁹ Geoffrey Barraclough, *From Agadir to Armageddon* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989), p. 59.

⁹⁰ Steiner, pp. 56-57.

prevent war: 'You have no quarrel with Germany ... German workmen have no quarrel with their French comrades'.⁹¹ With both ends of the political and social spectrum having their interests vested in sustaining peace, it remains a matter of continuing historical debate how Europe cascaded into conflict. Public opinion was volatile and on 6 August 1914, three days after war was declared, Hardie the previously popular Member of Parliament for Merthyr, was prevented by massed and violent crowds at his own constituency meeting, from explaining his views; his voice was drowned out by massed singing of *Rule Britannia*, and the meeting ended in violence.

Some, when war was declared, realised the implications for the future. Grey, the British foreign secretary presciently feared 'The lamps are going out all over Europe. We shall not see them lit again in our lifetime'.⁹² French historian, Marc Ferro, in an assessment of the era states:

The antagonism of nations comes from the depths of their past, from part of their collective consciousness...war conquered men's minds before it ever broke out.⁹³

Listening to Vaughan Williams' solemn ending to *Henry V*, written in 1912, it seems arguable that indeed war had, in Ferro's terms, conquered his mind; he was gazing at a template of jingoistic imperialism in Benson's production of Shakespeare's play, and in the current European climate he found a desire to respond with reflection and fear, not rejoicing. The change that he wrought to the ending is chillingly deliberate.

Vaughan Williams, a man of intellect, would have been receptive to the cross currents of European thought at this time and its impact on his work was profound. Later, asked in 1920 to define an aesthetic creed, he explained his thinking:

⁹¹ Keir Hardie, Speech to War Meeting, 2 August 1914, in Caroline Benn, *Keir Hardie* (London: Richard Cohen Books, 1997), p. 325.

⁹² Viscount Grey of Falloden, 'Twenty-five years 1892-1916' in James Joll, *The Origins of the First World War* (London: Longman, 1992), p. 38.

⁹³ Ferro, p. 25.

The object of an art is to obtain a partial revelation of that which is beyond human senses and human faculties - of that, in fact, which is spiritual.⁹⁴

The composer's literary mentors were Whitman, Bunyan and Blake, and describing himself as a 'Christian agnostic' he engaged with a dualism that invaded all his works.⁹⁵

Vaughan Williams saw melody, relating to hymns, as a moral issue. In his preface to *The English Hymnal* he wrote:

No doubt it requires a certain effort to tune oneself to the moral atmosphere implied by a fine melody; it is far easier to dwell in the miasma of the languishing and sentimental hymn tunes which so often disfigure our services.⁹⁶

One such choice reflecting his deep sincerity was the melody for his *Tallis Fantasia* (words from the 1567 Psalter of William Parker) that explored the conflict of material and spiritual values. The work contains the musical seeds of Vaughan Williams' *Pilgrims Progress* (1951), his opera that epitomises the life-long spirituality of his music. Vaughan Williams called *Pilgrims Progress* an operatic morality and he obsessively returned throughout his creative life to this composition. Bunyan's story tells of Christian Everyman who journeys against all manner of misfortune to the Celestial City. Wilfred Mellors sees the work as a journey to the afterlife - a 'psychological pilgrimage'.⁹⁷ Vaughan Williams knew his opera would not find favour with the press after the première at Covent Garden: 'They won't like it ... I don't care, it's what I meant'.⁹⁸ He poured into it some of his finest music and placed integrity as an artist and as a human being above the response of the audience.

⁹⁴ Ralph Vaughan Williams, *National Music and Other Essays* (Oxford: Oxford Paperbacks, 1964), p. 22.

⁹⁵ Wilfred Mellors, *Vaughan Williams and the Vision of Albion* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1989), p. 124. Whilst Professor Mellors does not refer to Vaughan Williams' work at Stratford, his evocation of Vaughan Williams the man has been influential on my interpretation of the extract that has been identified in my research.

⁹⁶ Ralph Vaughan Williams, 'Preface' to *The English Hymnal* (London: Oxford University Press, 1906 repr. 1933), p. ix.

⁹⁷ Mellors, p. 131.

⁹⁸ Ursula Vaughan Williams, p. 309.

Vaughan Williams may equally have risked offending the Bensonian regulars at Stratford, who might have disliked his non-military *Henry V* ending, but this appears not to be the case. The *Stratford Herald* noted that Vaughan Williams was a ‘musician of great skill and eminence’ and the audience showed their overall appreciation of his work at the festivals with the presentation of a silver-mounted baton of ebony and ivory on his last night.⁹⁹ Vaughan Williams’ changes to the *Henry V* music were, I suggest, a deeply considered response to the text. Despite the threatening shadows affecting Europe at this time, the anti-war subtleties, much debated later in the twentieth century by directors and literary commentators, were being overlooked in Benson’s interpretation. Vaughan Williams looked deeply into the meaning of life through his art and to him the superficialities of contemporary theatre music (perhaps to him another miasma of the ‘languishing and sentimental’) had no place.

His ending sounds to be a response to the troubling times in which he lived; he was, in the words of Ferro, someone whose mind was already conquered by war and he feared the consequences, and knew what going to battle in a foreign land would mean. His was a critical response to the text of *Henry V* and he rejected blatant triumphalism in his finale and did not require his audience to accept, condone or validate the invasion as they listened to his sombre music as the curtain fell. Rabkin writing later in the twentieth century suggests ‘*Henry V* is most valuable to us ...because it shows us something about ourselves: the simultaneity of our deepest hopes and fears about the world’.¹⁰⁰ Vaughan Williams’ music anticipated that critical response by commenting on Shakespeare’s exposition of the complexity of the human impulses. Musically, it is theatrically modernistic, in that it explores the language of what it *felt* like to be witnessing traumatic events such as the French loss of sovereignty and, on both sides, to

⁹⁹ Trewin, pp. 192-193

¹⁰⁰ Norman Rabkin, ‘Either/Or: Responding to *Henry V*’ in *Shakespeare and the Problem of Meaning* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1981), p. 34.

suffer the death of nobility and the common soldiers. Previously the attitude generated by Benson's brisk exit marches and the self satisfied 'Agincourt Song' gave no space for any qualms about the morality or consequences of the campaign. As David Lindley has said, music 'mediates' between the text and an audience's experience of a play.¹⁰¹ In his intercession with the Stratford festival audiences, Vaughan Williams did not emulate the vast celebratory choral endings of Calvert and Waller, with their swelling romantic harmonies that placed the happiness of a royal couple above the complex issues of war, and likewise he discarded the Bensonian short, trite, military-march ending that made life acceptable only for the winners. He ended the play with an intimate hymn-like elegy that carried values of human warmth, reflectivity, and sadness. His was a tiny but significant germ of an idea about the nature of the play and the human tragedy that is at the heart of conquest. This may not have been reflected in the acting style but it would be the last sounds of the play that the audience heard before they exited the Memorial Theatre, walked along Waterside in Stratford, and mentally re-entered the twentieth century where the clouds of war were bubbling up on the horizon. It is a forerunner of the critical debate around the internal anti-war duality within the play that evolved in the twentieth century. Although there is doubt whether the music survived the predations of Benson in the company's future performances, it was a significant new approach, musically, to the ending of *Henry V*. The discovery of this small, previously lost, piece of music is vital to a complete understanding of this leading and influential composer's view of the play and the experience the audience shared at this critical time in English and European history.

Ursula Vaughan Williams suggests that the changes did *not* survive, stating that Benson was neither pleased nor interested in the new music and 'went back to his old

¹⁰¹ David Lindley, *Music and Performance History; a neglected dimension*, lecture at Shakespeare Institute, University of Birmingham, 4 November 2010.

‘hotch-potch’ ways as soon as the musical director departed’.¹⁰² The musical evidence of the surviving copies does not support that overarching and perhaps anecdotal statement. The set donated by Benson to the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre archive to preserve the evidence of the company’s achievements, contains the Vaughan Williams music after four more years of regional touring and festival reuse. I suggest that Vaughan Williams’ music, including his prayerful ending, was used in England in the performances that followed, during the war-time period. This contradicts the word of Ursula, the young second wife of the composer who wrote his biography in the 1960s; Vaughan Williams’ music has not been pasted over and replaced, and neither has it been crossed or pulled out so that the pre-1911 ebullient military-march music could be played again. In each orchestral part, Vaughan Williams’ changes (handwritten and stuck on) remain totally intact, ready for use. Furthermore the condition of these extra sections is not immaculate but well ‘thumbed’ which suggests continued theatrical usage.

Ursula Vaughan Williams may be correct in some respects, for the company fielded more than one troupe at this period. After the festival in the autumn of 1913, two Bensonian companies simultaneously toured abroad, one heading for North America and another playing several cities in South Africa. The latter tour included *Henry V* and the set of the music, probably copied specifically for the tour, has survived although it is not in the Benson Archive.¹⁰³ This set remained unidentified in the Birmingham Shakespeare Library until I compared it to the music in the archives at Stratford. Archivists accepted my analysis and have attributed the set to Benson. It contains no trace of Vaughan Williams’ music, thus endorsing Ursula’s point that the music dropped out of use. The set contains two other significant differences to the other

¹⁰² Ursula Vaughan Williams, p. 103.

¹⁰³ Benson, *Henry V*, South African tour set of music. Birmingham Shakespeare Library.

surviving fragments of Benson's *Henry V* music. This includes an innovation in the French scene where on the cue 'We shall have each a hundred Englishmen' (3.7.151) two singers (perhaps more) sang a short two-part lyrical vocal ensemble. Following the song, there is no suggestion of a dance number. This gentle serenade replaced both the earlier waltz song-and-dance scene, and also replaced Vaughan Williams' introduction of French folk tunes. The new item is composed in an expressive, quite gentle, nineteenth-century style with rising chromaticism at the climax (bars 11-14) and it may have been accompanied in some way either by a third vocal line or instrument, as someone has added onto the manuscript letter names of notes beneath which create an effective bass line. The second change is in the final scene, when a simplistic C major march was used both before and after the wooing scene, and again to end the play. Although the tour was just a few months after the summer festival, Vaughan Williams' ending was not used. Equally the tour did not use the usual Benson finale music that Vaughan Williams replaced. It appears that the copyist or musical director, when preparing the set of copies for the South African tour, created new music, a quite simple C major march. The South African set appears to be little used after the tour for it is in pristine condition and does not contain the usual pencil-marked changes that indicate repeated usage from season to season. Not used by the main company from 1913-1916, the set went astray and was separated from the Benson archive and remained unidentified until this present research.

Benson was desperate to serve his country in the forces. In the absence of that opportunity in the early years of the conflict, he continued to perform *Henry V*, taking it around the country on tour, seeing this as his war work. He performed solo speeches from the play in *ad hoc* performances in village halls, where he encouraged the younger members of his audience to sign up. It continued to feature in the annual Stratford festivals, and during December 1914 and January 1915 the company played *Henry V*

daily at London's Shaftesbury Theatre. The song and dance entertainment in the scene of the French camp (apparently reusing Vaughan Williams' choice of folk melodies) continued to be featured with Leah Hanman, a Bensonian regular, singing and dancing at the 1915 Stratford Festival and in the London Shaftesbury Theatre cast. In 1916, during the final performances of Benson's production, the scene was shared by the dancer Violet Cecil and singer May Kearsley.¹⁰⁴ More than this cannot be deduced from the Stratford programmes, but the sombre programme from the London season is uniquely loquacious; it is formal, serious and philosophical in content and, in the context of this research, it is worth an extended examination.¹⁰⁵

The black and white print of the cover of the programme showed the bust of King Henry V from his tomb in Westminster Abbey and memorialises the king in funereal starkness (Fig. 4.3). The whole programme is totally plain in design, denuded



Fig. 4. 3 Cover of Benson's 1913-14 programme

¹⁰⁴ Benson, *Henry V* programmes, Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford upon Avon, 19 April 1915 – 1 May 1915, and 1916 (n. d.), Shakespeare Birthplace Library and Archive.

¹⁰⁵ Benson, *Henry V* programme, Shaftesbury Theatre, London, 1914/1915. Shakespeare Birthplace Library and Archive.

of any glamorisation or advertisements that had increasingly bedecked programmes throughout the late Victorian and Edwardian era. Benson allocated half of the programme space to patriotic quotations from England's wartime heritage from 1415 to 1914 and gave his audience a philosophical essay on the wider issues of patriotism, freedom, poetry and heroism. This sermon on war dwells emotionally on his personal response: 'half-welded, inchoate and incoherent...this crisis has forced us to realise our limited power, our infinite future'. As an actor and a patriot, he needed to justify to his audience why he was not in uniform, stating that his continued performances of *Henry V* were 'business as usual' until 'summoned...to play more directly some part in the larger but still little O of the world - a world in agony'. After nearly twenty years commanding the stage as a heroic and athletic king, Benson seems to have become immersed in, and almost overwhelmed by, his knowledge and understanding of the conflict raging in France. The sombre, hymn-like music of Vaughan Williams remained in Benson's scores and it appears that it was played repeatedly as the painful realities of actual warfare dragged on. I can find no evidence on the parts that Benson replaced it.

The concluding section of this chapter is an examination of the fragmentary musical evidence from Martin Harvey, a contemporary of Benson, and another actor-manager who gave service to his country through the medium of the *Henry V*. Harvey (1863-1944), knighted in 1921, and known subsequently as Sir John Martin-Harvey was a romantic actor who joined Irving's Lyceum Company in 1882, where his greatest box-office success was as the self-sacrificing Sidney Carton in *The Only Way*, a popular adaptation of Dickens' novel *A Tale of Two Cities*. Martin Harvey was a resilient character with a magnetic personality who had many of the hard-working attributes of

the old-style actor managers.¹⁰⁶ In July 1917 he went to play to the troops in France. Years later he recalled standing not far from the fields of Agincourt and began: ‘Once more unto the breach dear friends...’ when he heard a ‘thud’ and nearby a shell exploded.¹⁰⁷ Like Benson, he saw *Henry V* as culturally and emotionally relevant at this time of conflict. His *Henry V* was a ‘hearty open-air person’ who ‘broke up the rhythms [of speech] into something sharp and conversational’.¹⁰⁸ Seen also as a ‘warlike and patriotic character [who] mirrored...the nation’s mood’, he brought to the staging process a post-Edwardian approach.¹⁰⁹ He employed stage areas that were visually neutral and his set was based on a dual design that allowed action to continue during scene changes; he regarded this continuity as a ‘supreme advantage’ and he used music to underpin a sleek transition. He did not eliminate interval music, although he regarded the two breaks not as a necessity but a physical concession to the audience’s need of ‘cigarettes, whisky and soda, and the stretching of legs’.¹¹⁰ The entre’actes give a flavour of the times; they included Edward Elgar’s *Suite ‘The Crown of India’* and Percy E. Fletcher’s *Grand March ‘The Spirit of Pageantry’*.¹¹¹

Something of the nature of the Martin Harvey’s music may be gleaned from the cues in the promptbook, and these suggest a bold soundscape that reflects the traditional un-negotiated grandeur of kingship and the monochromatic notion that winning is an unmitigated successful outcome. A ‘grand flourish’ in the form of a *King’s March* played a prominent role, not only to set the tone for regal entrances and exits, and the consequent joining of scenes, but it was also used in a vocal version as the army left France, before and after the wooing, and finally as curtain music to end the play on a

¹⁰⁶George Edgar, *Martin Harvey: Some Pages of His Life* (London: Grant Richards, 1912), p. 339.

¹⁰⁷Sir John Martin-Harvey, *The Autobiography of Sir John Martin-Harvey* (London: Sampson Low, 1933), p. 482.

¹⁰⁸*Manchester Guardian*, June 30 1616.

¹⁰⁹Martin-Harvey, p. 468.

¹¹⁰Martin-Harvey, p. 468.

¹¹¹John Martin Harvey, *Henry V*, programme His Majesty’s Theatre London. 1916. Theatre Museum.

note of grandeur. In contrast, a gentle note was created by the bell-like music of a French carillon which was played as exit music after Princess Katherine had practised her English vocabulary (3.4). None of the material evidence remains of Martin Harvey's instrumental music outlined here, but one choral fragment and a lyric from a song have survived and these, taken with prompt book indicators, suggest a wider aural palette, more reflective of the war-time climate.¹¹²

The first fragment shows a plainsong melody *Te Deum Laudamus* (Ex. 4.5). It followed the King's lines 'Then call we this the field of Agincourt/ Fought on the day of Crispian Crispianus' (4.7.86/87) which, it may be surmised was in the romantic manner typical of Martin Harvey, delivered with heartfelt intensity. Martin Harvey's ancient melody explores the very core of sorrow with the yearning drop from 'C' to 'A' as an axis of the melody suggesting A minor but then the melody inexorably pulls to the lowered leading note 'G':



Ex. 4.5 Only surviving fragment from Martin Harvey's music

¹¹² John Martin Harvey, *Henry V*, fragments. Bristol Theatre Collection, BTC EJE/000062.

All the soldiers knelt in prayer to sing, accompanied by full orchestra, before rising at the end of the psalm.¹¹³ Martin Harvey focussing the sacred singing after the St. Crispin's Day speech, and when the army departed for England he used a vocal version of the *King's March*, which continued throughout a long procession to end the act. It was perhaps a deliberate choice to use positive music, implying military success for an audience who knew of the desperate circumstances of the current British army in 1916, in the fields of France. The second fragment (Fig. 4.4)¹¹⁴ shows the words of a soldiers' song by the contemporary British poet Charles Dalmon (1872-1938).¹¹⁵

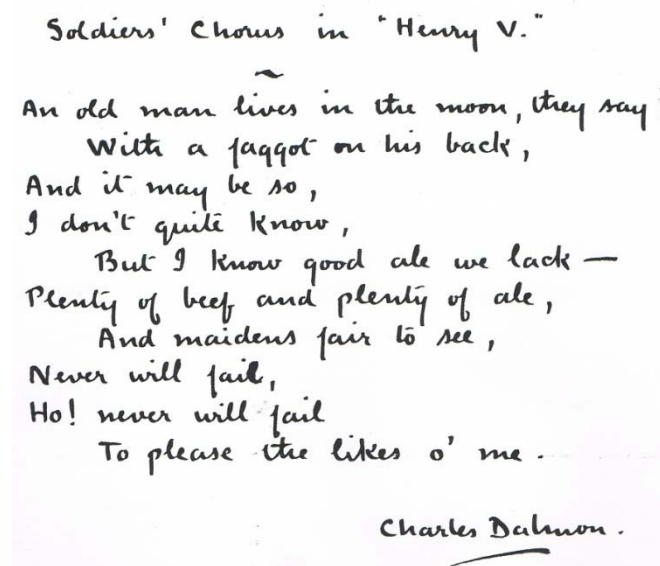


Fig. 4.4 Dalmon's lyrics in the Martin Harvey archive

The inclusion of this chorus represents a new approach to the social structure of the play. Previous music for the play had surrounded the activities of both sets of aristocrats but here was a glimpse of the ordinary soldier and his attitudes. Musically it created an intimate and human approach to the portrayal of warfare and it is reflective of a change undergone by composers of early twentieth-century post-romantic *verisimo*

¹¹³ Martin Harvey, *Henry V*, prompt book (1916). Bristol Theatre Collection.

¹¹⁴ Charles Dalmon, poet, 1872-1938.

¹¹⁵ Martin Harvey, *Soldiers' Chorus in Henry V*, EJE/000062. Bristol Theatre Collection.

opera such as Puccini,¹¹⁶ and the new musical comedy,¹¹⁷ who turned for their subject matter to the actualities and stresses of everyday life. A *verisimo* approach in the *Soldiers' Chorus* is engendered by the folk-like nonsensical opening pair of lines 'An old man ...on his back' which leads into the personal expression of the soldier's earthly needs: food, drink and sex. It bounces along 'Plenty of beef and plenty of ale', ideally suited for setting to music, and ends with an optimistic couplet. Poetically, it may have struck a chord with audiences of 1916 for it is not dissimilar to many songs that remain from the front-line soldiers in World War One.¹¹⁸

George Cockman, who is researching Dalmon's life and publishing his complete works, has identified the handwriting of Dalmon and says that the poet, who had a concern for the 'common man', wrote other soldier songs in a similar vein.¹¹⁹ Cockman has not found this verse in the poet's manuscripts which suggests that it was written specifically for the play; with short lines and written in the first person, it was appropriate for that purpose. The off-stage singing by the troops evoked a background of military activity and soldierly optimism as the king gathered the lords confidentially around him 'Now sits the wind fair' (2.2.12-13). Leading into the grim revelation of the traitors, the soldier's song counter-balanced the high tension engendered by their treachery. As the scene ended, the *King's March* accompanied the king's exit and then died away *pianissimo* as the Hostess entered to bid an affectionate farewell to her husband 'Prithee, honey, sweet husband' (2.3.1-56). Martin Harvey used music not only to achieve his liking for a slick succession of scenes but also to underline that the whole range of humanity and emotion was involved in this saga of waging war. It was

¹¹⁶ Mosco Carner, *Puccini* (London: Duckworth, 1974).

¹¹⁷ Postlewait, 'George Edwardes and Musical Comedy', in Davis and Holland, 2007.

¹¹⁸ For a detailed exposition, written by two veterans of WWI, of the songs which British troops sang, see John Brophy and Eric Partridge, *The Long Trail: What the British Soldier Sang and Said in 1914-1918* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1931), pp. 9-70.

¹¹⁹ I am grateful to George Cockman for correspondence and for his positive identification of Dalmon's hand. Neither Cockman nor I have yet been able to trace a connection between Martin Harvey and Dalmon. According to Cockman, Dalmon moved in creative arts circles Gustav Holst setting some of his lyrics and himself directing a film.

sung as a back ground to the skirmishes of Fluellen, Pistol and Gower (5. 1. 1-82) and I suggest evoked a measure of democratisation, which gave a voice to the common man and developed an understanding that warfare affected everyone not merely the royal and noble participants; this would have found empathy with the by then, war-weary audience, and moved the genre gently towards the modernist twentieth century.

This chapter has of necessity spanned forty years, four decades which contained the zenith of the British and other Empires. It was a tumultuous period in British and world politics and it was a time of accelerating social, scientific and cultural change. British theatre, and within it theatre music, reached a stylistic peak with vast pictorial scenery, cast sizes, special effects, huge orchestras and choruses, and enormous auditoria capacity. To produce evidence that productions of *Henry V* followed this pattern in these forty years has, in the absence of scores, been an act of musical archaeology and one that has revealed traces of a vibrantly-contemporary late-nineteenth-century musical ethos around the medieval king. The diverse fragments, pieced together in this research are, I suggest, irrefutable evidence that *Henry V* was played in the late-Victorian and Edwardian era encompassed in a musical splendour. Composers working on *Henry V* were at the forefront of their theatrical profession, and a tissue of musical influence can be traced within the work of the principal directors of the era: Beerbohm Tree employed Rôze before the composer worked with Waller and later Rôze supplemented the work of the preeminent Sullivan on the score of Tree's 1904 *The Tempest*.¹²⁰ Irving employed Sullivan to write music for *Macbeth* (1888) whilst Calvert worked with Sullivan in *The Tempest* (1864), *The Merchant of Venice* (1867) and *Henry VIII* (1877). Martin Harvey spent many years at the Lyceum with Irving's company and would have come into contact with the music of one of England's

¹²⁰ Souvenir programme, Beerbohm Tree *The Tempest*, 27 October 1904.
<www.leeds.ac.uk/english/projects/trees> [accessed 8 December 2010]

most eminent composers, Edward German, whose large theatre-music output included the score of Irving's *Macbeth* (1888). Most of the musical directors who featured in the fragmentary musical evidence of this chapter were part of this exuberant and self-confident world of Victorian and Edwardian theatre. The overall magnitude of performances could not continue to develop, and equally musical inclusions could not continue to use even larger musical resources without drowning the text or falling inexorably into a hybrid genre that had little room for the spoken word, and things began to change. Martin Harvey, with his lavish music but modern approach to fluid staging, and his laddish *Soldiers' Chorus*, bestrode the Victorian, Edwardian and war-time era in a manner that musically was evolutionary. On the other hand Vaughan Williams' rejection of old-fashioned theatre music was a tiny but significant revolution. He engaged with text in an approach that eventually became the norm in the twentieth-century.

Vaughan Williams came to Stratford already established as a serious-minded mainstream composer for the concert hall. He wrought changes in the music of *Henry V* and he was at the beginning of a seismic twentieth-century change that eventually saw new, intense and sometimes philosophical-inspired musical ways of responding to text. Martin Harvey too had reasons for making the scale of the music more intimate; his scenic inspiration was not total realism but focussed on fluidity of dramatic action, whilst his characterising of the army as an aural presence on and off stage allowed a voice for the common soldier. Together these two war-time productions contained seeds in their music of a modernism that asked the listener to the play to engage with more than lusciously entertaining melodies and richly warming harmonies. The war-time *Henrys* were musically of their time; they looked at the world around them and aurally they asked the audience to respond in their listening with the knowledge of their own experiences and fears. It brought a new intimacy, focus and strength, and a

revitalisation of musical engagement with the text that has continued to grow throughout the twentieth century.

This concludes the examination of all the available scores, fragments and ‘remote’ evidence of the music of *Henry V* from 1859-1916. The precise performance detail conveyed in the scores of Kean and Calvert has allowed a robust study mechanism to be developed around their scores. This allowed for an experiential exploration of the work of the later actor managers and has shown that where only ‘remote’, fragmentary, or no other element of their music survives, their work was no less imbued with music. Musical archaeology has revealed that at least five more *Henry V* scores of comparable stature to Calvert’s and Kean’s once existed. Despite the uneven nature of the evidence, and the difficulties inherent in comparing the hard facts with the soft edges of implied information, the next chapter surveys the soundscape of *Henry V*, slicing across the productions from 1859 to 1916. In reviewing and interrogating the available evidence, it shows how the music was central to locating the performances in the values of nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century society.

CHAPTER FIVE

A NEW READING: FRAGILE SOUNDSCAPES

‘If we are truly to comprehend their theatre we must acknowledge the significance of music in that theatre, for if we describe all else and fail to describe music, our description is far from complete’.¹

This four-part chapter slices across the evidence. Russell Jackson, describing and summarising Shakespearian performance in the nineteenth century, said it was ‘welded together with orchestral music’.² My research has interrogated this welding material and shown the subtle, complex and diverse ways it does so; it uncovers prominent use of opera-style choruses,³ and finds song occurs more frequently than previously noted.

Part One digs deeply and thoroughly into the role and effect of each of these technical elements, to establish a new historiography of the genre. It examines the structure created by the orchestra and choruses, and finally reviews the fragile evidence of song, finding characterisation, intimacy and colour embedded there.

Part Two considers the four strands of interpretation, what I term ‘extra-textual musical themes’, evoked both by the nuanced nature of the orchestral and choral music, and the songs whose lyrics were imported into the text. Not all directors explored each thematic idea to the same degree and, perhaps more significantly, the evidence is not consistently available for a thorough, complete comparison. Nevertheless I suggest that the available material reveals the innovation, fashion, voyeurism and occasional stagnation that lay behind some of the musical inclusions in the elaborate spectacles.

Part three returns to the issues that ignited this study: pictorial realism, and foreign policy and offers a new reading of the performance history of the play. The centrality of music in these productions is, I suggest, the equivalent of the vast painted

¹ David Mayer, ‘Nineteenth Century Theatre Music’, *Theatre Notebook*, 30 (1976), 115-122 (p. 122).

² Jackson, in Bate and Jackson, p. 114.

³ I have used lower case for sung choruses, upper case for Shakespeare’s Chorus speeches.

scenes, and the historically-researched magnificence of the effects, but also it extends through cross-genre styles the popular appeal. The section ends with evidence of the decline of this style of performance, and it uncovers a new naturalism and egalitarianism that began to take hold in the work of two of the most august actor managers at the end of the era.

Finally, Part Four reconsiders the ephemeral nature of music in the light of this research. The study has demonstrated a rigorous approach to evidence, illustrated the necessity of 'forensic' techniques, and made apparent the need for further manuscript-based research, despite the leaky character of continuing theatre-music practice. The survey makes a brief return to *Fill all the Glasses*, a setting whose historiography presents a discombobulating micro-history; this setting demonstrates the transferability of the issues across the centuries and underlines the need for continuing vigilance, for re-evaluation and a need to remember, as Postlewait has said that 'The past is a different, if not undiscovered country'.⁴ This final chapter aims to reveal something of that different past.

I

THE MUSICAL ELEMENTS: ORCHESTRA, CHORUS AND SONG

The first performance element that an audience encountered on entering the theatre was the orchestra. The informality of early Victorian theatre-going had been replaced in the second half of the nineteenth-century, as Davis and Emejanow have shown,⁵ by a new gentility, but with the noise of the arrival of an audience often numbering over a thousand, and the cacophony of the orchestra of some twenty to thirty players assembling and warming up, stepping into the theatre would have been to be enveloped in noise and activity. The sound of an orchestra in a wooden-floored theatre

⁴ Postlewait, *The Cambridge Introduction to Theatre Historiography*, p. 254.

⁵ Davis and Emejanow, p. 11-12.

without a pit is resonant, yet the instruments would have been heard individually and clearly. Sound remained a dominating ingredient once the performance began, and throughout the evening the conductor, using a thick baton, was clearly on show and in charge (Fig.5.1),⁶ as this 1880 illustration shows.⁷

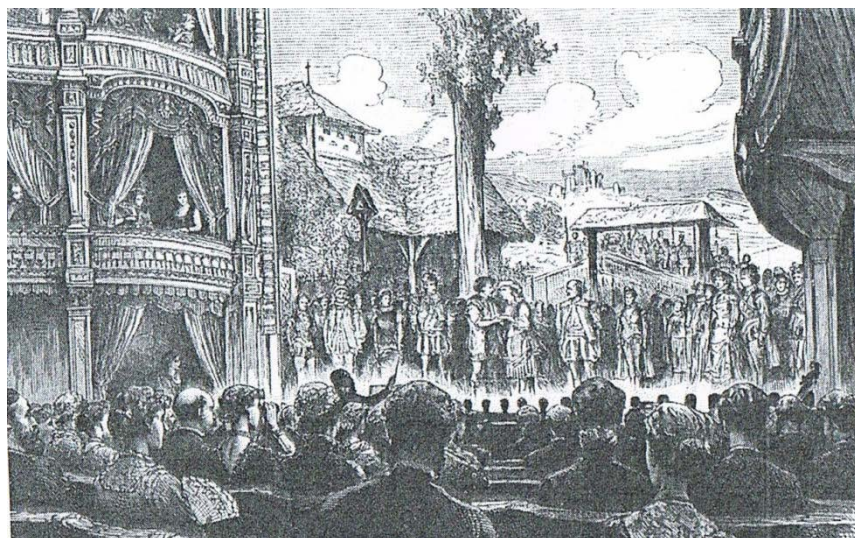


Fig. 5.1 'West End Audience'

The orchestral musicians were situated next to the audience in the stalls and immediately in full view of those in the balconies; as the sound rose up, it would have resounded through the vibrations of the floor and was reflected from the rounded walls.

Richard Wagner, as early as 1863, designed his Festpielhaus at Bayreuth to hide the orchestra in a mystic abyss (what he termed 'mystischer Abgrund'),⁸ and such was his influence that orchestra pits have gradually been lowered to unify and moderate the level of sound. Today, in the lyric theatre, most players are not visible; some are situated in sunken areas beneath the front of the stage and the sound is unified and less obtrusive, and in a drama theatre they are frequently hidden or their sound piped in electronically. Both solutions change the raw physicality and dominating presence of

⁶ 'West End Audience' from *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 10 November 1880, in Davis and Emejanow, p. 11. No play title given.

⁷ For a description of 'West End' as opposed to 'Music Hall' audience practices see Richard Schoch, 'Shakespeare and the Music Hall' in *The Performing Century*, ed. by Tracy C. Davis and Peter Holland (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2007), pp. 238-239.

⁸ Barry Millington, *Wagner Compendium: A Guide to Wagner's Life and Music* (New York: Macmillan, 1992), p. 234.

the nineteenth-century theatre orchestra. Wagner's ideas had not yet influenced most theatre architects by the last decades of the nineteenth-century in England, as Manchester theatre illustrations in Joyce Knowlson's *Red Plush and Gilt* show.⁹ At the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford upon Avon, built in 1879, the change was not made until 1912.¹⁰ Generally climactic orchestral endings would have been dominated by emphatic (maybe raw) brass, percussion including the crisp attack of skin-covered timpani and military drums, double woodwind and energetic (perhaps strident) strings playing strongly to fill a large auditorium.

All performances of *Henry V*, in the custom of play performance in the era, began with an Overture; Macready's prompt book shows the convention already established in 1819,¹¹ and surviving examples from later in the century show substantial compositions akin to those of an opera or operetta. Typically a slow arresting opening was followed by energetic textures and the exposition of several contrasting melodic themes. It was a substantial opening which commanded attention, set the mood with martial and contrasting elements, raised the tension and then (after about five minutes of music) the ending brought the first of many thundering musical climaxes. The Overtures of Kean and Calvert are complete, and together with the meagre evidence (a cello copy) from Benson, they show that until the end of the period this substantial style of opening was still employed.

In all the productions of *Henry V* during this period, orchestral music was wrapped around the text, both at the beginning and end of scenes and acts and also to illuminate the arrival of new characters or groups. It acted as punctuation and commentary in a powerful framing role. For example, in both Kean's and Calvert's

⁹ Knowlson, (n. p).

¹⁰ *Morning Post*, 5 August 1912.

¹¹ Macready, *Henry V*, prompt book (1819) with notes written onto Kemble's publication (1815), Folger microfilm 25.

productions, after the Overture, yet another piece established the mood of the coming scene; in Pisani's words the music focussed the audience in 'listening' rather than 'viewing' mode.¹² As anticipation grew during the music, the curtain rose on the Chorus. Here differences emerge in the two scores. Kean's fashionable eloquently cloying salon music befitted the portly Mrs Kean clad in Victorian dress. She was remembered by Calvert as 'unpoetic and slightly wearisome',¹³ and perhaps that gives a clue to the later director's search visually, and aurally, for an *avant garde* look and sound that shook off corseted gowns, and neat cadences with predictable modulations, for a wilder, expressive style. Mrs Calvert looked unfettered by the dress code of polite society and with her aesthetic-movement attire she set the scene for the history, romance and lure of bygone times. Equally, her long, searching *cantabile* introductory melody, with its richly decorative cadences and restless rhythmical movement, predicted emotionalism to come. By the end of the powerful orchestral introduction to her speech, we sense she has, in a grand manner, a tale to tell that will draw on the emotions of the audience. There were stark differences of style in the framing music used by the two actor managers; Kean used a pointillistic approach throwing contrasting dabs of musical colour into the drama whilst Calvert negotiated almost every nuance of the plot with a unified richness of style. Their differences illustrate a mode of working that was capable of adaptation.

Incidental music, possibly as many as two dozen pieces of varied length and purpose, is lost from the work of each subsequent director, except Benson. Benson systematically used entrance and exit music to cover changes on stage but it was slight in substance and he seems to have been unusual and atypical. He was probably limited not only by his personal indifference to music but also the frugalities of provincial

¹² Pisani, p. 78-83.

¹³ Mrs Charles Calvert, p. 137.

touring, for if the stage was small and the cast minimal, it took little time (and therefore little music) for the actors to enter and exit. Although he cut the Chorus speeches, he was, otherwise, progressive in trusting the text and did not (apart from the French waltz song and dance) add events to detract from the military character of the plot. The other directors, Tearle, Coleman, Waller, Mansfield and Martin Harvey, from evidence of their programmes, appeared to copy Kean and Calvert in creating the Episode, Espousal and Tableaux and like their predecessors, I suggest, they developed emotional music to surround the scenes and magnify the spectacle. There were at least two composers who were specially commissioned to create new music in the last decade of the century. Their actor-manager bosses, Tearle and Waller, both had ambitious approaches to spectacular staging. The music, for example, that Potter wrote to accompany Tearle's advertised 'One hundred auxiliaries, horses and cannons',¹⁴ as they went into and left the battle is lost. It is easy to imagine that Rôze, who framed the Espousal in a romantic *Wedding March*, musically assisted the glamorous Waller as he came to persuade the princess of his affection. With no score and no prompt books there remains no alternative but to speculate; it is not, I argue, an option to accept that whilst some productions were rich in music, others, with their attendant orchestras, fell silent for most of the performance. Fragmentary and circumstantial evidence shows that all productions were copiously endowed at some point with music. Like their predecessors I suggest that throughout the performance they captured vitality in warfare and eloquence in repose.

Orchestral underscoring of text was possibly used by some or most directors but the remaining evidence from *Henry V* is very slim. Kean used pithy *melos* to underscore occasional dramatic narrative detail (for example in Chorus Three) and the effect was to raise the dramatic climate for that moment and heighten response.

¹⁴ Tearle, *Henry V*, programme, 1891.

Calvert's score suggests he used no underscoring but Walbrook, seeing Waller's *Henry V* in 1908, criticised Rôze's score for too much. Underscoring was generally a feature of productions towards the turn of the nineteenth century as actors striving to fill the vast theatres, let their voices ride on the orchestral sound. Writing in 1887, the editor of *The Stage* suggested that music was the indispensable 'handmaiden of drama' and declared:

The vital use of music as an adjunct to a play is to increase expectation, enhance apprehension, work upon the sympathies ... a drama overburdened with music drags most fearfully, and disheartens everybody at the first performance. Of course it is altered afterwards, but the immediate danger is hardly repaired by subsequent alteration in all cases.¹⁵

Searching for an understanding of the nature of orchestral underscoring in the absence of Rôze's and other late nineteenth-century *Henry V* scores, contemporary parallels are useful to illustrate some detail of how it was constructed and used. Unlike the silent movies a few decades later, it was not an *ad hoc* improvised effect. It had more in common with a modern movie score, where the music is written to synchronise with gestures, camera shots, words and other effects. Surviving examples of underscoring are rare, but Pisani's sixteen-bar quotation from Boucicault's *The Colleen Bawn* (1876) illustrates the genre.¹⁶ The music is written under the text and expostulations are matched precisely with accents and discords in the score. This is complex, through composed, and searchingly-chromatic underscoring and it responds word by word to the dialogue, with modulations and time signatures changing with the action. It was a precise form of composition, not dissimilar (except the text was spoken not sung) to operatic *recitativo accompagnato*, especially in the work of twentieth-century composers, such as Britten or Janáček, who meticulously set every inflection of speech. Occasionally, the accompanied spoken voice was used in nineteenth-century opera for the ultimate moment of human expression, such as Violetta's dying words at the end of

¹⁵ 'Music in Drama 1887' in Jackson, *Victorian Theatre*, pp. 204-205.

¹⁶ Pisani, pp. 85-87. Pisani quotes a full page example of music written to be played precisely under text.

La Traviata.¹⁷ More frequently, it was found in emotional or action scenes in straight nineteenth-century drama and it was not unknown in Shakespearian performances a generation after Kean. Maren Goltz has explored how the influential Meiningen Company from Germany, who toured three Shakespeare productions to London in 1881, used well-developed techniques of text accompaniment.¹⁸ An early example of this Germanic approach to intensifying performance with structured music is Mendelssohn's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1842) where in addition to colourful instrumental episodes, the composer set five passages of extended *melos*. With subtle circularity, to underscore Puck's 'If we shadows' (5.1.414-429), Mendelssohn returned to the motif of the opening chords from the Overture musically echoing in the accompaniment the valedictory quality of the lines.¹⁹ In a later work, *Der Sturm - The Tempest* (1855), Wilhelm Taubert used through-composed, complex and extensive effects.²⁰ Benson made use of long passages of Taubert's underscoring in his own production of *The Tempest* and this adaptation survives as an illustration of turn of the century theatre-music practice.²¹ The underscoring fitted the rhythm of speech precisely. Benson had to reinstate the original text to replace Schlegel's German translation in Tauber's score,²² so occasional adjustments to the rhythmic pattern were made to fit the syllables exactly, and these were carefully indicated by the arranger.²³ Benson's *The Tempest* was acted regularly from 1888-1915 and was one of the

¹⁷ Giuseppe Verdi, *La Traviata* (1853).

¹⁸ Maren Goltz, 'Die Praxis der Bühnen- und Zwischenaktmusik bei den Theateraufführungen der Meiningen während der Regierungszeit Herzog Georgs II. von Sachsen-Meiningen (1866–1914)' in *Theater und 19 Jahrhundert*, ed. by Petra Sruber and Ulrich Beck (Hildesheim: Georg Olm Verlag, 2009), p. 79. I am grateful to Gertrud Robins for translating and discussing Goltz's work with me.

¹⁹ Felix Mendelssohn, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, op.61 (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, vocal score 1842, orchestral score 1848).

²⁰ Wilhelm Taubert (1811-1891), *Der Sturm*, orchestral score (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1863). Shakespeare Institute Library.

²¹ Benson, *The Tempest*, orchestral parts 1888-1915, Benson Archive, Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive.

²² August Wilhelm Schlegel (1767-1845).

²³ Val Brodie, *Music in the Performance of Shakespeare, Stratford-upon-Avon 1886-1916* (unpublished master's dissertation), Shakespeare Institute, University of Birmingham, September 2003.

company's regular box-office successes showing that underscoring was a technique familiar to audiences. Given that the only positive evidence of underscoring comes from Kean's score in the early period of this study, and Walbrook's observations about Rôze towards the end, without other late-Victorian and Edwardian scores the role and purpose of underscoring cannot be fully understood.

Part of the 'welding together' included the traditional element of entre'acte music. This was scene-changing music and it has an interesting line of development which is worth tracing. In Kean's production each scene change was covered with sturdy, but in places facile, entre'acte music; the scoring can be judged tawdry, and insubstantial, and in several instances the orchestrator has not been concerned to fill in the detail on the score. There were plenty of dashing semiquavers supported by insubstantial harmonies but little of musical value; it was probably written to be background to conversation. Eventually accomplished composers used the pause in the action needed for a scene change to evoke atmosphere and heighten the drama, and they created lengthy reflective or powerful music that moved the action on. Key composers who creatively developed entre'acte music included Mendelssohn, whose 'Nocturne' for the sleeping lovers between Act III and Act IV in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1842), with its horn solo doubled on bassoons, was an early and notable example, subtle in orchestration, advanced for its time and not immediately imitated. Gradually theatre practice changed and caught up with him and Mascagni's 'Intermezzo' in his short opera *Cavalleria Rusticana* (1888), is concentrated and emotionally involving. At the end of the era of large-scale music for plays, Sibelius peppered *The Tempest* (1926) with more than twenty interludes that changed the scene and musically developed the characters, using exotic scoring, solo instruments and back-stage chorus, and effects such as the harp and harmonium high above in the flies. In his *Henry V* production, Calvert was one amongst others who eliminated the shallow entre'acte music employed

by Kean. Whilst his choices did not match the sublime qualities of Mendelssohn or Mascagni, or the characterisation of Sibelius, he found ways to develop the scene ending with music that matched and took over from the impact of the action, and made an expressive theatrical function of the time needed for these practical tasks.

It was not only during the play that the orchestral sound permeated the evening. From the mid-1870s onwards the orchestra performed an advertised programme of entertainment during the two or three intervals of the play, although it was a fashion that came and went within the time scale of this study. Calvert, for his American production, introduced substantial offerings of musical highlights for the intermissions, whilst Coleman's and Tearle's lists show the fashion took hold in England from the late 1870s. Later evidence of *Henry V* interval entertainment is patchy but parallels are relevant. The Benson season of 1901 at London's Comedy Theatre (six Shakespearian plays that did not include *Henry V* on that occasion) saw the practice continuing with the director offering a 'Special String Orchestra' conducted by the eminent theatre-music director Christopher Wilson in a substantial programme of formal music including Grieg and Moszkowsky.²⁴ Benson had ceased using interval entertainment by his 1914/15 London performances of *Henry V*,²⁵ although another wartime production at The Strand Theatre, London (music director Rosabel Watson) used its limited instrumental resources to play *The Agincourt Song*, traditional tunes and march themes in the interval.²⁶ Further evidence of the practice comes from commentators. The *Musical Times* in 1893 noted with concern that accomplished British composers were called upon to write interval music for the theatre and was dubious about the practice stating: 'The moment the curtain falls the buzz of conversation begins; [music is] only

²⁴ Benson, *The Taming of the Shrew*, programme, Comedy Theatre, London, January 1901. Researcher's own programme collection.

²⁵ Benson, *Henry V*, programme, Shaftesbury Theatre, London, 1914/15 winter season. Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive.

²⁶ W. Bridges Adams, *Henry V*, programme, Strand Theatre, London, 1915-16 winter season. Bristol Theatre Collection. No other musical information or any manuscript survives from this production.

provided for the same purpose that hostesses have been known to provide pianists at evening parties - namely to promote and cover conversation'.²⁷ The irascible Sullivan, (in an interview in *The Musical Times* published posthumously in February 1909), put it acerbically: 'The theatre is not the place for the musician. When the curtain is up the music interrupts the actor, and when it is down the music interrupts the audience'.²⁸ It was a neat critique from one who was a principal architect of theatre music from the mid-1860s having composed for *The Tempest* (1862), *The Merchant of Venice* (1871), *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (1875), *Henry VIII* (1878), and *Macbeth* (1888).²⁹ By the early late 1890s/1900s, although large-scale theatre music generally was still flourishing, it was becoming an over-ripe idiom and features such as interval music and also orchestral underscoring were beginning to drop out of use.

Whilst studying the scores, and searching for an aesthetic understanding of the production, it is easy to forget the physicality of music within the theatre experience noted at the opening of this chapter, and to lose sight of the reality of the practices of orchestral players. These impinged on the performances and not all in the audiences appreciated their activities. Sir George Alexander (1858-1918), a modernising actor-manager at the St. James's Theatre, described in 1909 a physical embodiment of the orchestra that needs to be read alongside other considerations. It may contradict other perceptions:

As a rule, the moment the curtain has safely risen the conductor and his men plunge headlong into the mysterious abyss under the stage, their hurried exit giving the effect of black rabbits scuttling into their warren. But just as the lovers on the stage are becoming interesting... up comes the orchestra again, man after man, and each, with more or less tumult, finds his place. Then in front of the stage towers the magnificent conductor, his baton poised in mid air. When the cue is given three merciless raps are heard and the fiddles begin to shiver and the violoncellos to moan. But by this time what has become of the stage illusion?³⁰

²⁷ Percy A. Scholes, *The Mirror of Music 1844-1944: A Century of Musical Life in Britain as Reflected in the Pages of the Musical Times*, 2 vols (London: Novello, 1947), 1, 266.

²⁸ Scholes, p. 267.

²⁹ Scholes, p. 267.

³⁰ Scholes, p. 267.

Alexander was a director who presented 'present day subjects' such as *Lady Windermere's Fan* (1892) and *The Importance of Being Ernest* (1895), but this description of what he deplored and was seeking to eradicate in terms of 'dialogue music' gives an insight into established theatrical practice. It explains, for example, why Benson's orchestral players regularly wrote the timings of dialogue passages onto their instrumental parts. They needed to know how long they could spend under the stage in the band's green room before reappearing like 'black rabbits' to play again.

Despite such distractions, if it is acknowledged that orchestral sound was a central 'welding' ingredient, then chorus singing put a seal of splendour on events that were high points in the performance including a coronation prologue (in two productions), the French scene before the battle, tableaux, the war-weary Britons leaving France, the poetic Espousals, and the lengthy Episode. The extra-textual Episode, an event entirely underpinned with twenty-five minutes of music, built to a chorus of celebration. Calvert copied Kean and used a crowd of specialist singers who physically and aurally reinforced, humanised, and added pathos and ceremony to this scene. It was a mixed SATB chorus and this new gender balance altered the perspective of the scene (and later the Espousal) giving expression to a world that included wives, mothers and daughters. The chorus members were not actors press-ganged into singing but recruited as a 'powerful and well-selected chorus' in addition to the 'army of auxiliaries'.³¹ They sang relatively complicated music and needed to see the conductor. The presence and skills of these performers changed the nature of the performance from straight drama into an event that was visually and emotionally complex as entertainers, dignitaries and royalty assembled before the onstage crowds. Studying and playing the Episode music of either director allows for a reimagining of the lengthy, well-

³¹ Calvert, *Henry V*, programme, 30 September 1872, and poster, 30 November 1872, both for Prince's Theatre Manchester. Manchester Arts Library.

choreographed scenes of the crowds assembling, and it gives some understanding of the rhythms, tensions and flow of the performance. For a whole scene, text and forward plot development was arrested and the micro world on London Bridge was explored in action, visual spectacle and sound. The scene drew from performance modes of drama, mime, ballet and even circus all mixed with church bells, but at the climax it became opera.

The rhythm of the peaks in the performance changed. No longer was a public oration or a soliloquy the key emotional high point in the rhythm of the action; this balance was altered by the invasion of massed singers and the foregrounding of powerfully-affecting, lengthy, chorus music. The role of a chorus of singers, as opposed to crowds of ‘extras’ or ‘supers’, has been not adequately explored in the past. Jackson has called Kean’s marshalling of large crowds ‘quasi-operatic’ and he uses *Macbeth* (1853) to illustrate his point. Describing the ‘dramaturgy’ of ‘the spoken theatre of the period’, and illustrating his point with a reproduction of the crowd scene from *Macbeth* (Act Two, Scene Two),³² Jackson states:

The spoken theatre’s use of music and marshalling of stage crowds *only needed the addition of singing to make its productions operatic in the literal sense*’ (my italics).³³

Jackson does not elucidate if by ‘only needed’ he believes this dramatic moment, one of intense ferocity in Kean’s production, included singing, or if he means hypothetically that that would be a further step. Markings and headings on the orchestral parts of the production (no score survives) indicate there was a chorus in *Macbeth*, sometimes on-stage, at others off-stage. As the choral copies are lost, forensic musicology is needed to pull together the evidence from the instrumental parts, together with prompt books and other signifiers, to learn about the detail of the chorus role in the production.

³² Water colour design after Frederick Lloyd, for Kean’s *Macbeth*, Princess’s Theatre, 1853, in Bate and Jackson, p. 118.

³³ Bate and Jackson, p. 117.

My analysis of Kean's *Henry*, which was six years later than his *Macbeth*, shows that here he used the 'addition of singing' as part of his dramaturgy. There was an extensive passage of massed singing in the Episode that was noisy and passionate, and another as the soldiers left France that was intense and spiritual. It was a style of performance that was copied and embellished by later actor managers, who added even more choral singing, orchestral music, dancing and crowd-attracting processions; whilst it had elements in common with twentieth-century musicals on both stage and screen, it is a form of play performance that is most usefully considered on its own merits. It forged an alliance between the pictorially-realistic presentation of text (a style that may in *Henry V* be said to have begun with Macready's 1839 panorama accompanied by music), and the powerful, time-filling elements of chorus-led opera. These scenes, including the French pre-battle party, the English soldiers leaving the battle, the celebrations of the Episode, and the Espousal, gained priorities that are only hinted at in the text. Scenes such as dealing with the herald, problems with the foot soldiers from the English regions and other finely wrought elements of contextualising within the plot were retained but, I suggest, were increasingly overshadowed and marginalised by the embellishment and spectacle. It was a hybrid crossover that is elusive to comprehend without the information provided by a detailed analysis of scores and prompt books, but it was an effect that was not difficult (although expensive) for the adaptable, multi-skilled and commercially-orientated actor managers to achieve. As an art form it had within it, I suggest, seeds of its own destruction. There was an imbalance between the (well projected) spoken voice, and the power of the orchestral and choral *tutti*. The raw emotionalism of an operatic chorus in full volume lacked subtlety, and detracted from the detail and complex narrative of the text. It was a hybrid form of play presentation that flourished then faded, in less than fifty years.

Finally to turn to song, an element that in drama effectively finds a place alongside, and in the same space and scale of delivery, as speech in the intimate delineation of character, and situation. The frail, unexpected but tantalising evidence of song in *Henry V* has been explored with a detailed musical archaeology. Shakespeare included very short snatches of song lyrics at the height of the battle (3.2.7-18) but the actor managers cut or did not set these brief lines, and the search has been for instances of song added to the play. My analysis has revealed that many, maybe all, productions included at least one significant song or small ensemble, and some had several.

Song creates an intimate pocket of time for a soloist or a small group to develop an interpersonal situation, individual idea or a reflection. David Lindley has said that indeterminate meanings of music ‘are always constructed in relation to a repertoire of already familiar musical “languages”’ and that this is even more complex in song. He suggests:

Further complexity is introduced by the multiple interactions between words and music, between song and the action of the play, between singer and audience, actor and role.³⁴

In nineteenth- and early twentieth-century performances of *Henry V*, song was used principally in the French pre-battle scene where it developed characterisation, and added voyeuristic light entertainment. Song lyrics, imported and carrying contemporary values, spoke of class; rich young men in glee clubs sang for relaxation and mutual delight, whilst foot soldiers sang of their earthly hopes. Songs, as this research has demonstrated, are easily lost, but their rediscovery requires some readjustment of our understanding of the nature of the performances. They added fashionably-stylistic musical colour and a frisson of naughtiness (Benson’s *Waltz Song*), changed the cultural location (Vaughan Williams’ replacement of the *Waltz* by a *French Folk Song*),

³⁴ David Lindley, ‘“Sounds and sweet airs”: Music Shakespearian Performance History’, *Shakespeare Survey*, vol. 64 (2011), p. 59.

projected ideas antithetical or non-essential to the text (Calvert's *Who is Sylvia?*), introduced differing emotional timbres and linkage of the action (Mansfield's *Night Song*), developed idiosyncrasies of class (Martin Harvey's *Soldiers' Chorus*) and Kean's lost or never composed *Drinking Song* may have being intended to express similar attitudes to those of '*Fill all the Glasses*'.

II

EXTRA-TEXTUAL MUSICAL THEMES

The evidence of what I term the 'extra-textual musical themes' has problematised the analysis of recent scholars that performances were essentially a reflection of English foreign policy. The interpretative strands that the music revealed grew out of the needs and expectations of the Victorian and early twentieth-century public. Viewed from the perspective of music-theatre analysis, there is no evidence that Boer War jingoism and foreign policy impinged musically on performances except reflecting common-place responses immediately prior to, and during, World War One.

I argue that *Henry V* music was used from 1850s onwards to generate a cult of a popular, celebrity monarchy. It was first generated by Kean in his innovative Episode but it characterised performances increasingly in the following decades. To it, Calvert added a queenly matriarchy that echoed Queen Victoria's hold over her family. In nineteenth-century England, royal occasions including the gold and diamond jubilees (1887 and 1897) were public events, celebrated not only on the London streets by the crowds but around the regions,³⁵ which the queen visited, travelling in her 'Palace on Wheels', the royal train.³⁶ In *Henry V* the actor managers gave their audiences an opportunity to enjoy a close encounter with a victorious monarch whom they celebrated

³⁵ R. Harman and J. Minnis, *Pevsner City Guides: Sheffield* (London: Yale University Press, 2004), pp. 147.

³⁶ To see Queen Victoria's 'Palace on Wheels' I visited the National Railway Museum, York (6 July 2012); for details <www.nrm.org.uk/our_collections/most_popular/royal_trains>[accessed 8 March 2013]. See also Patrick Kingston, *Royal Trains* (London: David and Charles, 1981), chapter two, pp. 19-45, especially p.24. Kingston also deals with her visit to Sheffield, p.24.

in a similar style. It may be termed a ‘theatre of royalty’ as massed crowds on stage (often singing), watched on-stage royal events that echoed the experiences of the public in the streets on state occasions and royal visits. Music was employed to portray royalty in celebrity situations and the audience in the theatre itself, watching an on-stage audience, drawn in by emotive music, was part of that extended experience, meta-theatrically, of being there.

Kean’s Episode, a long sequence of action and music showing a king at the centre of an adoring crowd, was much copied, none more so than by Coleman who developed a ‘grand pageant’,³⁷ with both the king and princess entering London; Katherine was less the medieval diplomatic pawn and more the celebrity in a modern-day engagement photo-opportunity. The next scene saw them a year later when, as ‘The Lion of England and the Lily of France’ before the crowds of grandees, they were married. The Espousal ending was developed first by Coleman’s contemporary Calvert, who created a musical scene of magnificence familiar from the weddings of Queen Victoria’s sons and daughters. Here was a royal marriage that not only reaffirmed an alliance and brought peace, it personalised the role of monarchy and added emotion to the scene, and it located the stage characters in a situation familiar to nineteenth-century audiences. The power of the singing in the cathedral (Calvert used the broad melody and rich harmony of Mercadante) humanised and feminised the ceremony and overshadowed the diplomatic dynamic. Calvert’s ending followed a textual manipulation that lifted the image of the role of a queen from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century, as the French queen led the final welcoming of the couple in a celebratory moment that reflected Victoria’s matriarchal dominance. Peter Holland has argued that Calvert’s production would have reminded his audience ‘just how

³⁷ Coleman, *Henry V*, programme, p. 3.

marginalised women are in this play’ and he views the princess as a victim.³⁸

Paradoxically, the implanting of swathes of music and Calvert’s textual manipulation changed that balance; the French queen’s role had a Victorian ring of familiarity and she was given a dominating voice. Unlike Holland, I argue that the French princess was not marginalised. She was framed in fashionable music both before and after her English lesson, and after the wooing scene more delicate music accompanied their exit to spent private time together. Calvert musically depicted a princess, not victimised, but taking an extended role alongside the victorious king, in the nineteenth-century splendour, grandeur, and celebrity of a royal wedding finale. The couple were celebrated by the presence and singing of vast gathering of both men and women.

After Calvert, actor managers working at the turn of the century had the next generation of royalty for inspiration. The 1893 wedding of the future King George V, Queen Victoria’s grandson, was a spectacular event. The memory of the seven-mile-long procession route in London, and the ‘seething and well ordered crowds’ which needed four thousand police to line the streets, the glamour of the wedding gown and the medal be-decked uniform of the prince, all contributed to the theatricality of the royal event.³⁹ One correspondent, with appropriate theatrical indulgence, said: ‘Never has the English sun poured its rays upon a more imposing spectacle’. He went on to note that Queen Victoria had done ‘all that it was possible to ensure that the people should participate in the pageant’.⁴⁰ The populace in the 1890s interacted with the monarchy, albeit from the pavement, and were accustomed to seeing pictures in the press and to the feeling that they knew something of the lives of these glamorously-attired chosen people. The music used at the 1893 royal wedding included the Wagner

³⁸ Peter Holland, *Henry V and the Art of War* <<http://www.nationaltheatre.org.uk>> [accessed 1 November 2010]

³⁹ *The Times*, 7 July 1893

⁴⁰ *The Times*, 7 July 1893.

and Mendelssohn pieces still popular today.⁴¹ In a similar style Rôze's radiant *Wedding March* for *Henry V* was fashionably melodic, and luscious in harmony, with no hint of militarism. The opening is similar to Mendelssohn's use of flowing triplets and a middle section vocal in style (ex. 4.1 page 192). Pictures of Waller's principal actors in luxurious wedding outfits were published in the popular press, and in tone are little different from the pictures of Victoria's dynasty (Fig. 5.2); the bride sits on a gold-

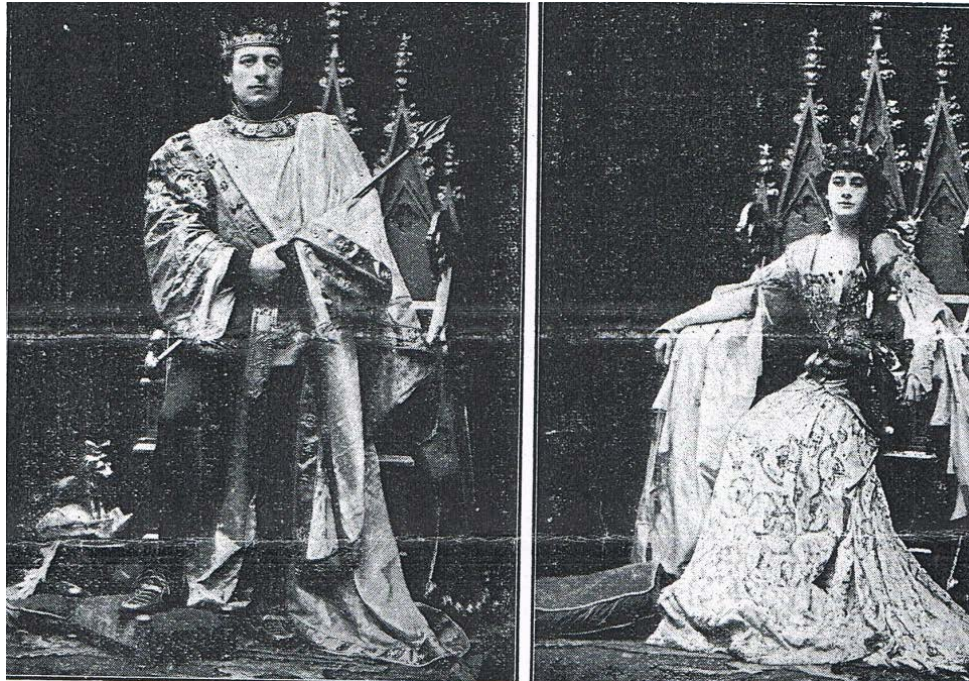


Fig. 5. 2 Press photographs: the Espousal of Henry and Katherine

decorated throne, at once medieval and Victorian gothic. She wears rich silks with her hair elaborately and fashionably taken up, whilst standing by her, the king is dressed in ermine House-of-Lords-style robes, wearing the crown of state.⁴² The dividing line, I suggest, was thin between the theatre of spectacle which is promoted by the monarchy, and the spectacle of theatre devised by the actor managers.

Henry's piety, and his insistence on religiosity when dealing with those around him, is inherent within the play text, but musically, it was emphasised in the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century productions. At certain key moments, when the directors

⁴¹ *London Gazette*, 7 July 1893.

⁴² *Black and White Budget*, 19 January 1901.

could have chosen patriotic verve, or even a touch of jingoistic self satisfaction to fashion the king, most chose music of reflective piety. This approach runs powerfully across the era from Kean's use of unaccompanied singing as the English left France, to Martin Harvey's use of solemn medieval plainsong *Te Deum Laudamus* sung by the army sinking to their knees following the announcement of the English deaths. His portrayal would have reminded his audience of the horrors of battle at a time when men were dying in their thousands in France, and Vaughan Williams' hymn-like ending for Benson equally explored sorrow. Only Calvert's men bounced out from France with rollicking and emotional post-battle relief; it was generated by an accompaniment of Italian opera that allowed a glint of elation and self-satisfaction.

Illustrations show that both Waller and Benson were noted for the devotional qualities in their portrayals of the king. One popular picture-story of Waller enthused about his 'ingrained piety',⁴³ and at the prayer 'O god of battles' (4.1 277-292) his appearance was both emotional, with his hands and sword handle clutched on his heart, and spiritual, with his eyes fixed on a higher destiny. At the same moment in the play Frank Benson, an energetic actor, sank to his knees and gazing upwards at his sword, portrayed a 'grave and thoughtful king'.⁴⁴ It has not been possible to establish if either man used music to frame this religiosity at this point in the text, but there was an extreme example before them in Calvert, who aurally encompassed a king fearful in his piety. Calvert used frenzied post-murder music from Verdi's *Macbeth* in an outpouring of deepest romantic, spiritual anguish and guilt, and it extended the condemnation of the king in the eyes of God beyond the point that even the most emotional of speakers could hold.

⁴³ *The Pall Mall Magazine*, 'Mr Lewis Waller's Revival of *Henry V*', n.d., January 1909.

⁴⁴ *The Times*, 14 January 1897.

Tearle, in his 1891 programme, listed amongst his music ‘*chants, dirges and triumphant hymns*’ suggesting that pious music was one of the attractions of the performance. The word *dirge* resonates with the deepest grief of Capulet in *Romeo and Juliet*: ‘our solemn hymns to sullen dirges change’ (4.4.114), and Tearle may have felt sad religious *dirges* (he uses the plural), and sacred *chants* and solid *triumphant hymns*, were a selling point. Hymn singing was popular across a broad spectrum;⁴⁵ in 1861 ‘Hymns Ancient and Modern’ first appeared (destined for many expansions and reissues),⁴⁶ the influential Wesleyan singing tradition, based on the earlier vast output of the brothers, remained vibrant across high and low churches,⁴⁷ whilst the evangelists Sankey and Moody, toured Britain in the 1870s urging people to call on God in song.⁴⁸ Tearle sought spectacular effects in his production, yet he did not copy the operatic route taken by Calvert but, following the example of Kean (and perhaps Coleman working also with Isaacson), used a solemn approach to underline the king’s determination to give the victory to God. It chimed in with the social, spiritual and musical development of hymnology in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Tearle may have used spiritual music like Kean, who extended the emotional impact of the exit from the battle zone, with the singing of the introspective *Alta Trinita Beata*. This setting was not music for soldiers to sing on the move. To perform the slow, expressive unaccompanied four-part renaissance anthem, it is likely that the men stood, like an opera chorus, facing the audience to sing, in order to project their sound out to fill the theatre, and at the same time to see the conductor. A recent 2007-2008 Royal Shakespeare Company production gave a flavour of the impact of devotional music sung after the text finishes at the end of Act Four.⁴⁹ A long four-part unaccompanied

⁴⁵ Erik Routley, *A Short History of English Church Music* (London: Routley and Dakers, 1997), pp. 70-73.

⁴⁶ *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (London: Novello, 1861).

⁴⁷ John Wesley (1703-1791) and Charles Wesley (1707-1788).

⁴⁸ David Sankey (1840-1908) and Dwight Lyman Moody (1837-1899).

setting of *Non Nobis Domine* extended the scene by several minutes. During the pure and unsoldierly singing, multiple coffins were laid on the stage emblematising the ‘dead...enclosed in clay’, a contemporary reference to the war going on in Afghanistan. A deathly stillness came over the audience. It is possible to imagine that Kean (and others who copied him) with his use of unaccompanied male voices expressing their faith in a solemn and ancient hymn, achieved a similar effect.

Turning next to the delineation of the English and French, the actor managers used what I shall term a musical Francophobia. The theatrical history of the portrayal of the French in music is significant here. Kemble’s general anti-French approach is well documented, yet his company played *Henry V* for more than twenty years from 1789, without apparent musical differentiation between French and English.⁵⁰ It was a time when a French invasion of England was a national source of concern and a performance at the Theatre Royal Haymarket in 1797 (director unknown), the year of the onset of war, is the earliest one where musical delineation of characters may be inferred.⁵¹ An ‘English March’ punctuates the entries and exits of King Henry and a ‘*French* March’ (my italics) leads into ‘The sun doth gild our amour’ and is repeated ‘Come, come away... we outwear the day’ (4.2.1-62). This is the earliest example where specificity of musical content surrounds the French. It seems likely that something exotic characterised the bespoke French march, perhaps influenced by the glittering French baroque instrumental tradition of Lully’s grand marches composed for the court of Louis XIV. Resplendent with strong, brilliantly-ornamented melodies and underpinned with the pompous sounds of timpani, this music was used in the service of an absolutist

⁴⁹ *Henry V*, dir. by Michael Boyd, composers James Jones and John Woolf, Royal Shakespeare Theatre, season 2007-2008.

⁵⁰ Smith, pp. 18-20.

⁵¹ *Henry V*, prompt book (1797), Theatre Royal Haymarket. Shakespeare Birthplace Library and Archive. It is unclear whose prompt book this is. Charles H. Shattuck, *The Shakespeare Prompt Books* (Illinois: Illinois Press, 1965), p. 146, states that the inked-in cuts follow Kemble’s version but editorially, and in the printed music cues, it differs from all the texts in the collection of Kemble prompt books in the Stratford Archive.

monarchy. In the history of French music, this style was unsurpassed by the time of this 1797 production. The 'French March' is only associated with the pre-battle scenes when the French aristocrats are assertive of their superiority and confident of victory; it is not used after their defeat, suggesting that it was used to portray them when they were strong opponents, not (as later directors do) as a portrait of their weakness.

Fifty years on and the musical differentiation of the two nations was developed unambiguously by Kean, and it revealed the French in an adverse light. Alone amongst the actor managers he showed a difference between the two armies on every occasion as they marched on and off (Kean's French army marched in 3/4 time whilst the English efficiently and logically marched in 2/4 time). Calvert does not make this discrimination, and there is no evidence either way of what others did, except in Benson's production where both sides marched to the same music. Both Kean, Calvert (with a 9/8 serenade and delicate birdsong), and Benson (in his South African tour music) set the French monarch in his court surrounded by overly sweet music that implied the king had no aptitude for war. Musically these three productions engendered a xenophobic response to the French. With close reading of the scores the subtleties of the portrayal become more apparent; Kean's French fanfares in dancing rhythms, and his choice of effete un-businesslike music for all references to the French encampment tuned in with the suspicions of the French still abounding politically in the late 1850s. This was a time when the government was brought down by issues of the aristocracy in Anglo-French relations (Palmerston's government fell in 1858), and musically, the portrayal reaffirmed a general English prejudice against the French aristocracy. Kean's approach was emulated and developed melodramatically by the later directors, who turned the pre-battle French scene into a men's drinking den. The aural portrayal of these unworthy opponents who, as time-wasting braggarts, led by the Dauphin and his chums, enjoyed their sleazy pleasure, is the final extra-textual musical theme.

This musical characterisation of the French at leisure, a consistent strand, has largely been ignored by commentators. The text gives no overt suggestion of an excuse for entertainment; the French are overconfident and contemptuous of their opponents, with Orleans dismissing the English king as a ‘peevisish fellow’ moping with his ‘fat-brained followers’ (3.7.127-151). Courtiers described their opponents as ‘shrewdly out of beef’ with only stomachs to eat, and none to fight, and each expected to kill an hundred English men. I have demonstrated that the Dauphin and his dice-playing cronies were portrayed through music and entertainment as fun seeking and gregarious by several of the Victorian and Edwardian directors in this scene, with Calvert’s score being the fullest musical scenario surviving; it is worth reprising the extra-textual detail. He began with a languid 9/8 serenade which framed the Dauphin’s pink-encrusted tented surroundings, a venue more redolent of Palais Garnier (the Paris Opera House opened in 1875), than a battle field, then this pretty, quiet Italianate barcarolle was repeated and sung by little boys, followed by manly glee singing of ‘Who is Sylvia?’, and finally there was entertainment by the ballet girls whilst all the while there was drinking and dicing. It served to underline the indolence of the time-wasting French who postured that there was little to be done to achieve success in battle. In sharp contrast to the muscular 4/4 marches and pre-battle prayers of the English, it offered, musically, a critique of the French courtiers.

More than that, the scene offered the audience the gratuitous pleasure of nightclub atmosphere and entertainment. Coleman’s version featured a tableau which he entitled ‘Orgie in the Dauphin’s tent’. It may have been similar to the seductive quality of the song and dance included by Benson who veered at this point towards the idiom of both popular theatre and *opera comique*, listing the female soloists as French camp followers with all the implicit implications of sexual freedom, and song and dance associated with low life. It was a scene not only of French idle self-satisfaction and

debauchery, but it validated the inclusion of young female performers in an otherwise male-dominated plot, a frisson of decadence which remained in the production from 1897 until 1916. The enduring popularity of the sexy song suggests the risqué element was popular. Less overt, but possibly serving the same function of titillating the audience, I suspect that Mansfield's troupe of ballet girls as they performed Witt's graceful *Dance Antique* (maybe clad in ankle-revealing, virginal white classical-ballet dresses copying Kean's and Calvert's designs) were also the objects of the French, and the audience's gaze.

All the traces of song indicating an intimate scene of drinking and revelry in the French camp are lost with the exception of fragments from Benson. It represents a consistent thematic approach: Kean's 'French Drinking Song', Calvert's 'Glee', Coleman's 'Orgie', Mansfield's 'Night Song', and perhaps *Fill all the Glasses* should be added to the list. Each would have created an intimate atmosphere, enveloped the audience in the mood of that moment, changed the pace of the battle preparations, given a measure of humanity and universality, and hinted at foibles that located these men in a contemporary context. Songs easily become detached from the rest of the working material as did the text of Dalmon's *Soldiers' Chorus*. They were often composed later than the full score, as in the case of Kean. If a song is unaccompanied, a single sheet of manuscript may become mislaid, or later archived in a format unconnected to the play. Solo songs and unaccompanied ensembles were not usually written on to the conductor's score. In the case of a raunchy drinking song, there was no possibility of it being arranged and published in an adaption for the domestic feminised arena of the drawing-room. Hence, with no score and no secondary remote evidence, the knowledge of a song is easily lost. The evidence of the traces of these songs, considered together, appears to lay a musical trail that characterised not only the French as decadent and irrepressibly blasé, but gave the audience a taste of entertainment that reached outside

the Shakespeare canon. The inclusion of a soloist or small ensemble, singing a setting of extra-textual lyrics created an intimacy and depth of characterisation that was easily imposed and did not alter the surrounding text, yet it made a powerful interpretive impact. It is a technique that remains in the production tool-box of directors today yet is one which will require much more theatre-music research to reveal the traces, and the consequences, of the inclusion of song.

III

ISSUES OF PICTORIAL REALISM AND FOREIGN POLICY: A NEW READING

My reading of the music problematises two issues that underpinned recent studies of nineteenth-century performances of the play: pictorial realism and foreign policy.

Unlike late seventeenth and eighteenth-century theatre music, which has a well-defined and reasonably well-documented history,⁵² nineteenth-century theatre music has often been overlooked or its contribution underestimated. This is especially the case within the Shakespearian productions of the actor managers which have frequently been categorised in terms of pictorial realism, with scant mention of the soundscape. With finely painted cloths and expertly reconstructed medieval replicas of townscapes, the surroundings were 'real' in detail, and in many scenes were beautiful to behold, but this research has shown that music equally played a powerful, integrated and interpretive aesthetic. In Kean's case, music played an educative role making the streets not only 'look' but 'sound' as they may have done in the fifteenth century. The inclusion of music gave the directors more stage time to be realistic in their dramatic depiction; for example, each director set the arrival of the king in the Episode underpinned with a continuous music-script, portrayed in almost real time. Equally tableaux (that were

⁵² Fiske, 1986.

increasingly used from the 1880s) were musically-accompanied, non-textual, illustrative events frozen in mid action, and music defined the length of the display, and gave atmosphere to the depiction. The study has provided new insights into theatrical practices and techniques, and revealed a powerful balance between text, and framing and other musical effects. It has shown that the implantation of music (for example the song and dance interlude in the French tent in Calvert, and the lengthy Episodes) was imposed almost always without traces being apparent from the prompt books. The pictorial realism of the staging, the church bells and the carefully chosen music were effects that worked together in these scenes to produce an entertaining and noisy spectacle. However, although the scenes looked pictorially real, the singing added a layer of operatic artifice, a fashionable imperative that dictated the stage geography, and at times dominated the performance. Music left its dynamic imprint on the historicism of the earlier productions, it gave full-bodied expression of sentiment in the middle of this period, and it also left its careful thought-provoking fingerprint on the stripped down war-time productions.

Twentieth-century literary analysts of nineteenth-century theatre including Gary Taylor and Emma Smith, have suggested that performances of *Henry V* were (and still are) a response to British foreign policy. Patriotism is a word readily associated with *Henry V* and not unexpectedly from Kean in 1859 to Benson and Martin Harvey in 1916, marches, fanfares, and battle music all enriched the audience appreciation and surrogate experience of a successful military campaign. The period from the 1850s to World War One was one when British forces were engaged almost continuously in global warfare, but nothing blatantly nationalistic or jingoistic was found in the music to match the political antennae of Kemble, who in 1813 replaced a performance of *Hamlet* with *Henry V* for reasons of ‘the splendid successes of the Arms of the British Empire’,

and concluded the performance with a rendering of '*Rule Britannia* in full chorus'.⁵³ The Victorian actor managers Kean and Calvert took a different approach and with musical subtlety both pictured the French leaders as weaker and less noble and gallant than Henry. Productions in the 1870s-1900s developed an emotional and sentimentalised royalism. Foreign policy did not, musically, appear to be a motivating force. Waller and Mansfield's 1900 productions, both created in times of war for their countries (British troops were fighting in South Africa, and American troops in the Philippines) may have contained music that appealed to the patriotic nerves of the audience but the only surviving existing evidence shows fashionable, expressive, and genteel music. Both 1900 scores are lost and with them complete understanding of the nature of the music and only the finale of each, the additional marriage scene, can be discussed with certainty. In both instances, it is marriage and dynasty, religion and royal splendour, not foreign policy issues that appear to be the central production values that musically defined the endings. Through music the Victorian actor managers grafted on to the play scenes to entertain, affect, thrill and at times titillate or even shock their audiences; they created a hybrid form that developed throughout the second half of the nineteenth century and peaked in the early Edwardian era. It was a style of performance that did not seem impelled by foreign policy. Many features survived for a while but, with the coming of World War One, new policies and new war-time values emerged. Here for the first time in the period of this study performances became a response to foreign policy. Both directors, Benson and Martin Harvey, saw the play as promoting English patriotism in terms of the willingness to serve, and the consequence was that style and manner of the inclusion of music altered. Democratisation took the form of a song for the infantry which knocked the glamour out of war, and a new thoughtful ending to the

⁵³Kemble, *Henry V*, playbill, Theatre Royal Dublin, 8 November 1813. Birmingham Shakespeare Library.

play eliminated musical triumphalism and helped to lay a path towards the questioning and doubts about *Henry V* that have absorbed directors and analysts since.

The evidence of this study has provided a new reading of late nineteenth-century performances of *Henry V*. It has become apparent that music was used extensively in all the productions not only to weld the production together (and to support imposed extra-textual themes) but also it defined the physicality of the productions. The vocal chorus was an essential element. The time taken to sing a chorus, and the stature on stage of vocal extras rebalanced the shape of the play so that moments of ceremony, spectacle and music, and the flavour of popular royalty pervaded the performance. Two productions added a coronation which changed the structural balance of the overall script with high emotional (extra textual) outpourings at the beginning, middle and ending. Throughout all the performances, as the emotional pressure built during the invasion, the siege, the battle and the victory, music provided dramatic cornerstones to characterise, and extend, the impact of critical moments. It fed on an audience appetite for a multi-media stimulation of the senses, for to attend a performance of a formal and serious play at this time was not merely to witness an enactment of the words, but to be assailed by visual spectacle together with dancing, extensive pageants and sequences, orchestral music, solo songs, and large-scale operatic choruses. These populist elements brought to nineteenth-century performances of *Henry V* twin emotional dualisms of first a deep religious fervour and popular royalism, and second a dislike of the French balanced by a voyeuristic liking for the entertainment enjoyed by them. The underlying orchestral storytelling and vocal emotionalism pirated from opera, together with techniques implanted from melodrama and other forms of popular theatre, all provided rich pickings for the enterprising Shakespearian actor managers, who were, as

Schoch neatly suggests, engaged in the ‘tangled history of free trade’.⁵⁴ It was a format laid down by Kean and burnished by Calvert; they changed the play so that waves of people took to the stage and their presence was affecting in the manner borrowed from other art forms. The performance was not simply about the words of individuals for it expressed the emotions not only of royalty and soldiers, but of groups of both men and women from a wider social background. Kean set out to educate, Calvert equally to present historic authenticity, but as the century drew to a close, it was their emphasis on spectacle and use of music to control and excite the emotions, that their successors built upon.

This theatre-music study casts new light on the work of the leading actor managers of the period and rebalances the primacy of the word ‘pictorial’. The notion is dispelled that Victorian and Edwardian performances of Shakespeare were solely and unequivocally the terrain of leading actors, hordes of ill-trained extras, and spectacular effects created by respected London-based scenic designers with their careful representations of medieval architecture, and painterly view of the scenes of battle in France. It has allowed an aural re-engagement with the materials that were central to the spectacle and theatricality of nineteenth-century performances and it has demonstrated that it is not only valuable to remember what a production looked like, but it is important, ground breaking, instructive and fascinating to reconstruct what it would have sounded like. Importantly, the orchestral scores and in some instances the instrumental parts, and traces of song, shed light on elements of interpretation and performance practice that are not revealed by literary and prompt-book analysis alone. Thus theatre music, an oft-forgotten or overlooked element of theatrical performance is revealed as a major strand of performance history.

⁵⁴ Schoch, ‘Shakespeare and the Music Hall’, in Davis and Holland, p. 246.

I have built on the early work of Mayer, and the more recent work of Pisani, whose work has shown that music was one of the key ingredients as familiar and important to a late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century audience as pictorial scenery, lime and gas lighting, vast casts of extras, elaborate costumes and the magnificent displays of scenery. I have argued that music was an essential part of their experience of Shakespeare and it guided their feelings. For them all - in the distant balconies, the dress circle and boxes, those squeezed into the pit at the rear of the stalls and patrons ensconced in the seats with lace antimacassars at the front - orchestral music, opera-style choruses, and scenes featuring dancing and songs was how they received parts of the play. A century and a half later, it is not possible to quantify what the audience *felt* but shows ran for months, even years and in the pre-subsidy days of commercially-led theatre, actor managers gave their audiences productions to please their tastes. The handful of theatrical commentators who have left light-weight descriptions of performance, and the rare references in the contemporary press, shed little light and crucially add little evidence of the response and reaction of audiences. The sheer quantity of music, length of time the various productions ran for, and the expense that the actor managers incurred to develop these commercial performances, leads inevitably to the conclusion that the intention of the music was realised; that when pious moments were developed the audience felt appropriately moved, when it celebrated the king and his bride they joined in a wave of sentimental royalism, the anti-French characterisation perhaps created humour or simply fed old antagonisms, and when saucy singers and dancers appeared this was a source of unanticipated delight, but also an economic counter-balance to the late nineteenth-century popularity of sexy musical comedy.⁵⁵ Patrick Doyle,⁵⁶ writing about twentieth-century musicals, recently said that the primary

⁵⁵ For a description in the rapid rise of the genre see 'George Edwardes and Musical Comedy: the Transformation of London Theatre and Society, 1878-1914', in Davis and Holland, pp. 80-99.

object is: 'to engage the emotions, not the intellect ... it must move you, elate you, make you feel happy or dazzle you'.⁵⁷ Nineteenth-century music-laden high drama (which it may be argued is one of the roots of the musical), likewise was not totally dominated by intellectual audience response. Kean, and some who followed and emulated him, attempted to turn this a male-dominated text into a heavy-handed historical experience, but in doing so they filled it with music which drew the audience into familiar emotional territory; it resonated with matters important to them - relationships, royalty, piety and pleasure - it drew on entertainment forms familiar to them - from melodrama, music hall, circus, church and the streets - and throughout it swung along with sounds that were fashionable and satisfying.

IV

FRAGILITY, AND FORGOTTEN SOUNDSCAPES

Finally I return to the fragility and vulnerability of musical evidence and to the ephemeral nature sound. This study has explored solid, chunky evidence, some of it self-evidently not complex material but it remained overlooked; in other places faint traces have been excavated to save it from aural oblivion. There are many other manifestations of the fragility of sound but awareness is the route to combating that loss, and if theatre music is preserved, sought out, performed, discussed and understood then a redefinition of Shakespearian theatre history can be achieved. The issue is exemplified by *Fill All the Glasses* and where and why the eighteenth-century song about lust and lechery could have been inserted 'in the Play called Harry the Fifth'. It is a question that is worth recapitulating, in the light of the trends discussed in earlier chapters. Kean, Calvert, Coleman, Mansfield and Benson gave a pre-battle drinking scene to the Dauphin and his high-spirited, and pleasure-seeking cronies to modernise

⁵⁶ Patrick Doyle was awarded the *Ivor Novello Best Film Theme Award 1989* for 'Non Nobis Domine' played and sung as the long procession left the battle field in *Henry V*, dir. by Kenneth Branagh, cond. by Simon Rattle.

⁵⁷ *The Spectator*, 26 January 2013.

the play in the spirit and fashion of the time. If the same thing happened one hundred and fifty years earlier, then Eccles' vigorous duet gave the post-restoration audience an extended entertainment in the new baroque style, at a time when the boundaries between drama and opera were loosely defined. Henry Purcell, contemporary of Eccles, and the outstanding English composer of the age, wrote duets stylistically similar to *Fill all the Glasses* when he musically refashioned *A Midsummer Night's Dream* to create *The Fairy Queen* (1692).⁵⁸ These episodes were physical, entertaining and bold. Charles II, following his restoration in 1660, had established the English equivalent of the French court's 'Vingt-quatre violons', a bevy of players playing brash violins replacing the English viol consorts, performing not only at court but in the newly reopened theatres. The king also dispatched musicians to 'see and learn the way of French compositions'.⁵⁹ This changed England's conservative, contrapuntal consort style, and by the 1690s Purcell, Eccles and others composed in the new, dramatic French manner. We have seen that music added to the play almost always reflected life outside the play house. *Fill all the Glasses*, with its strong continuo bass and high-tessitura imitative and equal top lines, was fashionably new, bright and brazen, and it was an ideal vehicle for the antics of the French courtiers. In the social milieu after the restoration of a Francophile monarch, it may not have served to demonise the Dauphin and his drinking pals, as later songs appear to have done but may have held up the drama, perhaps as an interlude, with frolicking entertainment. The adding of fashionable music that reflected the spirit, values and in some cases political climate of each age is a consistent strand that runs through the history of the theatre music of *Henry V*. The challenge now is to find evidence of performance; this may not have taken place.

⁵⁸ Henry Purcell (1658-1695), *Fairy Queen* (London: Jacob To[n]son, 1692), ed., by Bruce Wood and Andrew Pinnock (London: Stainer and Bell, 2009).

⁵⁹ Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), pp. 288-289.

The fragility of music (the physical copies, the emotional impact and the intellectual concept) remains a powerful cause of concern and much of the music implicated in this survey has not survived; copies were destroyed and vital elements such as songs became separated from the score or never written down. The twentieth-century theatre world continued to match the nineteenth in its ability to lose or destroy scores and the material culture of music. Nevertheless, more evidence of *Henry V* music has been found to exist than at first seemed apparent from established sources, but it is scattered in archives (some not catalogued or identified), across England and America. It reflects performances not only in Britain but on tour in North America, South Africa and Australia. These diverse resources have not been considered collectively before and it is a soundscape that has been forgotten or overlooked. The nature of the surviving evidence includes full scores, parts with no score, tiny manuscript fragments, commercial adaptations, playbill references, programmes, and literary and press commentary. Of the two complete manuscripts that remain, Kean's full score (ignored by recent Kean scholars), has revealed his innovative approach in the 1850s and brought alive the sound and theatrical effects that influenced directors throughout the following five decades. Calvert's two scores have been studied together for the first time, along with the (now rare) scores of the operas that he used. This has allowed for a new appreciation of his hybrid theatricality and absorption of cross media styles, influence that is revealed in the fragmentary evidence of subsequent directors.

Theatre music is an integral part of performance and its use is crucial to how an audience receives a performance and, as Sir Peter Hall has stated, it guides an audience into 'richer areas of feeling'. By way of an explanation of why 'not much [music] has survived from the highly practical world of nineteenth-century theatre - a world of hurried rehearsals and speedy improvisation', he offers a modern director's view of the pressures of theatre: 'it is consuming of now - today's rehearsal, tomorrow's dress

rehearsal, next week's first night...often the theatre has neither the time nor the inclination to write things down'.⁶⁰ The reminiscences of actor managers (and their wives) illustrate that with the financial imperatives of vast casts and of touring companies they did not even have the luxury of an equivalent time-frame to that of Hall. It is therefore unsurprising that the study of theatre music from the nineteenth century is bedevilled by the omissions of songs, the loss of scores and the destruction of orchestral parts. This exploration of *Henry V*, a marriage of musicology and theatrical history, has uncovered a strand of the almost lost and forgotten sound of nineteenth-century Shakespearian theatre,

⁶⁰ Mayer and Scott, preface by Sir Peter Hall, n. p.

CODA

‘Music cannot be treated like cigars or wine, as a mere commodity. It shares in preserving the identity of [the] soul of the individual and of the nation’.¹

As a coda to this study, and without drifting into sentimentality, my memory returns to the incomplete collection of grimy, tattered and heavily annotated orchestral parts for *Henry V* from the early twentieth century which first aroused my interest and became the starting point for my wider study. This fragile collection had seen service annually for twenty years in the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre every time Benson returned for the annual festival, and between times it had travelled with the company the length and breadth of the country, and been played countless times by different instrumentalists. The parts are handwritten, patched and incomplete, and covered over with grime, the product of gas lighting. The bottom right hand corner of each page is greasy and worn by innumerable musicians as they turned the page. There are multiple scribbles of changes, and messages, and warnings, to the following player, in the next town. Sometimes, when company finances were thin, there was a reduced band in the pit directed from the fiddle by the leader, but all parts were covered, with the viola player putting in the trombone part and so on. It was a raw theatrical existence, and the performances in distant provincial towns were perhaps rough and ready, with under-rehearsed musicians of variable quality, but this was how many of the population experienced theatre. Whether it was in the capital, or in a regional venue, the band was an indispensable part of the performance. The Benson orchestral parts are important because they span an era from high Victorianism, through the Edwardian period to the coming of war, and although incomplete and battered, having seen service for two decades, they reveal something of the theatre-making process. Something I was to find repeatedly was to see life outside the theatre invading performance and reshaping the

¹ Vaughan Williams, *National Music*, p. 69.

play, and the parts are a direct material link to that evolutionary process. Evocatively, at a micro level, they allow a glimpse into the working practices of countless theatre musicians, and theatre-music directors, whose processes still are replicated where live music is used in the theatre.

The change made by Vaughan Williams, when he removed an ending march that was triumphalist and brisk in tone, and replaced it with a soulful ending, is testimony to an art form that was, and remains, constantly evolving and reflective of life. To find and reconstruct his spiritually-meditative musical ending to the play was a powerful experience. This deep-thinking composer's response to the coming of war should not be overlooked and forgotten in the historiography of *Henry V* performance. It reveals a shift from nineteenth-century confidence and imperialism, and alerts us to the mental and emotional pressures on society in these pre-war years. This fractured set of music copies appears to be all that survives of the material culture of these performances a century and more ago, and they are the only evidence of the tiny, but nevertheless seismic change in emphasis, that Vaughan Williams made. To find the small pieces of manuscript written in the hand of the composer, stuck over the last short piece on each orchestral part, to piece them together, and to play the thoughtful powerful music, has been to bring to light the changes he introduced into the ending of the 1912/13 performances. To hold in my hand the orchestral parts has been to make direct contact with the sounds of the musicians whose playing concluded the historic saga of warfare. It allowed me to hear and try to understand the implications of the final notes that the audience heard, before they left the theatre to re-enter their own world, one that was in danger of strife.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary material

Unpublished *Henry V* music manuscripts

Published *Henry V* performance-related music

Henry V prompt books

Henry V playbills

Opera playbill

Henry V programmes

Other programmes

Charles Calvert ephemera

Secondary material

Books and Journals

Other music

Film

Primary material: Unpublished *Henry V* music manuscripts

Charles Kean: 1859 Princess Theatre, London

Folger Shakespeare Library microfilm, W.b. 575

Complete handwritten manuscript of orchestral score. Cover states: 'The Overture, Entr' Actes and Music to *Henry V* composed by B. Isaacson, Royal Princess's Theatre'. Two hundred and seventy-one pages scored for double wind, brass, percussion and strings. Textual cues precede each item in the copyist's hand. Handwritten message on a loose sheet, additional to the score, is interleaved which a request to Charles Kean for the words of a 'French Drinking Song'.

Charles Calvert: 1872 Princess's Theatre, Manchester

Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive (large manuscript)

Undated handwritten piano music at the end of the second of two leather-bound large- sized commemorative volumes, presented by Mrs Charles Calvert in 1903 which contain also play performance text and costume and armourial designs. Forty-seven pages are untitled, but include headings relating to use eg: 'Played as the troops follow the king'. Some added pencil markings indicate 'choro'.

Charles Calvert: 1875 Booth's Theatre, New York

New York Public Library microfilm, Performing Arts Catalogue NCP+.346542

Complete handwritten manuscript of orchestral score. Cover states: *Henry 5th Score* and is signed by copyist 'Geo. Cooper'. One hundred and seventy-two densely-scored pages for double wind, brass, percussion and strings. Some changes and deletions in final scene.

Frank Benson: 1897-1916 touring

Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive, Benson Archive 55

Substantial fragments of score and incomplete set of orchestral parts remnants from continuous touring of the British provinces 1897-1916, regular appearances at the annual Shakespeare Festivals at Stratford Memorial Theatre, and two appearances in London, 1900 and 1914-15. Donated by Lady Benson circa 1925. Various handwriting on both music manuscript and notes of changes. The ending music composed by Vaughan Williams, said to be lost, has been identified and reconstructed in the course of this research. Now acknowledged by, and is copyright of the Vaughan Williams Trust.

Frank Benson: 1913 Company Tour to South Africa

Birmingham Shakespeare Library, S722.06.

Henry V set of bound orchestra parts for small orchestra (flute, clarinet, cornet, trumpet, strings and drums and piano conductor). Previously not recognised, but positively identified as Benson company music by this research. Archivists have re-titled the material accordingly. Bound set in pristine condition. Copyist: signed 'J. Becks'. List of entr'acte music on a sheet of paper from Grand Hotel, Bloemfontein, and signature on clarinet part 'F. Aybu[...] Opera House, Cape Town October 1913' confirm the South African tour provenance, coinciding with the known season of Benson's tour.

John Martin Harvey: 1916 His Majesty's Theatre, London
University of Bristol, Theatre Collection, BTC EJE/000062
Loose sheet in *Henry V* prompt book containing lyrics of 'Soldiers' Chorus' signed by poet Charles Dalmon; the handwriting has been identified in this research. Also handwritten manuscript melody of plainsong 'Te deum laudamus'.

.
Primary material: Published *Henry V* related music

John Eccles, 'Fill all the Glasses: A Two-part Song in the Play called Harry the fifth, Sett by Mr John Eccles' in *A Collection of the Choicest Songs and Dialogues, no 52* (London: n. pub., 1715)
British Library, G.151. (52)
A two page setting for tenor and bass voices in treble and bass clefs, with unfigured continuo bass composed by John Eccles.

Frank Green, *Henry V Waltzes, as played nightly at the Walnut St. Theatre* (Philadelphia: F. A. North, 1875)
Library of Congress, M2.3 U6A44
Cover, signed by 'Frank Green' states 'copyright Frank Green'. Printed dedication on front cover 'To Mr George Rignold'. Five pages of light, fashionable waltzes for piano published for domestic market.

.
Raymond Rôze, *Wedding March for Organ composed for Shakespeare's Henry V at the Lyceum Theatre, London* (London and New York: Boston Music Company, 1910)
British Library, h.2731.q.(33.).
Cover states the composition is created for Waller's production at the Lyceum Theatre (1900), where Rôze was the composer, and conductor on the first night. Six pages of elaborate late-romantic writing for organ; indications of organ stops given. Published for domestic/church use with advertisements on back page for other organ music.

Max S. Witt, *Danse Antique from Henry V* (London: Joseph Stern, 1900)
British Library, h.3282.dd. (71.)
Five pages of piano music, with plain cover, published for the domestic market. Musical content is identical to Witt source below.

Max S. Witt *Dances Antique from Henry V* (Joseph Stern: New York, 1900)
Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Paul Wilstach Collection of Richard Mansfield Papers, box 1, folder 6
The fractured heading to the copy states: 'authorized and dedicated[...] Richard Mansfield now presenting his magnificen[t] [...] [...] of *Henry V*'.
Five pages of piano music with decoratively-illustrated cover showing Mansfield as the king in crown and robes, with dedication and details of the composer's earlier compositions. Musical content is identical to Witt source above.

Primary material: *Henry V* promptbooks

- Anon, 1797, Theatre Royal Haymarket, London Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive
- Kemble, 1806, Theatre Royal Drury Lane, London, copy from Folger Shakespeare Library at Shakespeare Institute Library
- Macready, Theatre Royal Covent Garden, London, 1819, Folger Library microfilm 25
- Macready, Theatre Royal Covent Garden, London (London: John Cumberland, 1831), Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive
- Kean, 1859, Princess's Theatre, London, Harvester microfilm 25
- Kean, 1859, Princess's Theatre, London, Harvard Theatre Collection, reel 011
- Calvert 1875, Booth's Theatre, New York, Harvard Theatre Collection, reel 011
- Calvert, 1875, Booth's Theatre, New York, signed 'George Becks', Folger Library microfilm 24
- Coleman, 1876, Queen's Theatre, London, Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive
- Mansfield, Garden Theatre, New York, *Acting Version* (New York: MacLure Phillips, 1901), Shakespeare Institute Library
- Martin Harvey, His Majesty's Theatre, London, 1916, Bristol Theatre Collection

Primary material: Set Designs

- Kean: *Henry V*, 1859, Frederick Lloyd, two watercolours of Mrs Kean as Chorus. Folger Shakespeare Library
- Kean: *Macbeth*, 1853, Frederick Lloyd, watercolour of Act Five. Folger Shakespeare Library
- Calvert: *Henry V*, 1872, artist not known, watercolours in Two Commemorative Volumes. Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive

Primary material: *Henry V* playbills

- Kemble, Theatre Royal, Dublin, 8 November 1813. Birmingham Shakespeare Library
- Macready, Theatre Royal Covent Garden, London, 12 June 1839. Birmingham Shakespeare Library

Macready, Theatre Royal Covent Garden, London, 21 November 1839. Birmingham Shakespeare Library

Macready Theatre Royal, Liverpool, 9 December 1839. Birmingham Shakespeare Library

Phelps, Sadler's Wells, London, 5 October 1852. Birmingham Shakespeare Library

Phelps, Windsor Castle, London 10 November 1852. Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive

Phelps, Sadler's Wells, London 23 October 1858. Birmingham Shakespeare Library

Phelps, Sadler's Wells, London 30 October 1858. Birmingham Shakespeare Library

Kean, Princess's Theatre, London, 9 March 1859. Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive

Kean, Princess's Theatre, London, 23 May 1859. Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive

Kean, Princess's Theatre, London, 30 June 1859. Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive

Calvert, Prince's Theatre, Manchester, 22 September 1872. Manchester Arts Library

Calvert, Prince's Theatre, Manchester, 30 November 1872. Manchester Arts Library

Calvert, Booth's Theatre, New York, 6 February 1875. Harvester Microfilm 24

Rignold, Theatre Royal Drury Lane, London (n.d) 1879. Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive

Rignold, Queen's Theatre, Manchester, 8 November 1880. Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive

Rignold, Theatre Royal, Birmingham, 20 November 1880. Birmingham Shakespeare Library

Benson, Shakespeare Memorial Theatre Stratford, 1902-1912. Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive

Collection of Playbills for Shakespeare Performance, *King Henry V: 1801-1920*.
Birmingham Shakespeare Library

Primary material: Opera playbill

Calvert, *Last Three Nights Italian Opera*, Prince's Theatre, Manchester, n. d. Manchester Arts Library

Primary material: *Henry V* programmes

Calvert, Prince's Theatre, Manchester, 16 September 1872. Manchester Arts Library

Calvert, Prince's Theatre, Manchester, 30 September 1872. Manchester Arts Library

Coleman, Queen's Theatre, London, n.d., September 1876. Mander and Mitchenson Theatre Collection

Coleman, Queen's Theatre, London, n.d., 1877, Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive

Rignold, Queen's Theatre, Manchester, 1 November 1879. Birmingham Shakespeare Library

Rignold, Theatre Royal Drury Lane, London, 29 November 1879. Mander and Mitchenson Theatre Collection

Tearle, Prince's Theatre, Bristol, 17 September 1891. Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive

Tearle, Theatre Royal, Manchester, n.d., September 1891. Bristol Theatre Collection

Benson, Royal Lyceum Theatre, London, n.d., February 1900. Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive

Mansfield, Garden Theatre, New York, 3 October 1900. Library of Congress

Waller, Royal Lyceum Theatre, London, 22 December 1900. Mander and Mitchenson Theatre Collection

Greet, Town Hall Rugby, n.d., 1901. Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive

Martin Harvey, His Majesty's Theatre, London, n.d., February 1916. Bristol Theatre Collection

Benson, Shaftesbury Theatre, London, n.d., 1914/15. Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive

Bridges Adams, Strand Theatre, London 1915-16. Bristol Theatre Collection

Boyd, Royal Shakespeare Theatre, Stratford upon Avon, n.d., 2007-2008. Personal collection

Primary material: Other programmes

Benson, *The Taming of the Shrew*, Comedy Theatre, London, January 1901. Personal collection

Beerbohm Tree, *The Tempest*, 27 October 1904 <www.leeds.ac.uk/english/projects/trees> [accessed 12 June 2010]

Primary material: theatrical ephemera from Charles Calvert

A small box of effects not as yet archived or documented in Manchester Arts Library. It includes a notebook with line-up of the cast of extras in *Henry V*, and a printed leaflet *Reminiscences of Charles Calvert* (n. d., n. pub).

Secondary material: Books and Journals

AHRC *Research on Concert programmes (1786-1943)* <www.concertprogrammes.org.uk>
[accessed 2 March 2011]

Anon, *La Chanson Roland*, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 23

Anon, *The Songster's Library and Museum of Mirth, being Volume 1 of the Most Extensive Collection of Ancient and Modern Songs in the English Language* (Cambridge: Manson, Emerson, 1834), BSL

Arblaster, Anthony, *Viva la Liberta! Politics in Opera* (London: Verso, 1992)

Arch, Nigel, and Joanna Marscher, *Royal Wedding Dresses* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 2004)

Bacon, Richard Mackenzie, 'The Catch and Glee Clubs', *The Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review*, vol. 7 (1820)

Barker, H. B., *History of the London Stage* (New York: Dutton, 1903)

Baker, Michael, *The Rise of the Victorian Actor* (London: Littlefield, 1978)

Baines, Antony, 'Bagpipes', *Pitt Rivers Museum Occasional Papers on Technology*, 9 (Oxford, 1960)

Barthes, Roland, *Image Music Text* (London: Harper Collins, 1977)

Bate, Jonathan, *The Genius of Shakespeare* (London: Picador, 1997)

Bate, Jonathan, and Russell Jackson, eds., *Shakespeare: An Illustrated Stage History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996)

Beaumont, Sally, *The Royal Shakespeare Company's Production of Henry V for the Centenary Season* (Oxford and New York: Pergamon Press, 1976)

Benedetti, Jean, *David Garrick and The Birth of Modern Theatre* (London: Methuen, 2001)

Benn, Caroline, *Keir Hardie* (London: Richard Cohen Books, 1997)

Benson, Constance, *Mainly Players: Bensonian Memories* (London: Thornton Butterworth, 1926)

Birmingham Shakespeare Library, *A Shakespeare Bibliography*, 5 vols (London: Mansell, 1971)

Bloom, Harold, ed., *Modern Critical Interpretations* (New York: Chelsea House, 1988)

- Bloom, Harold, ed., *William Shakespeare's Henry V* (London: Chelsea House, 1987)
- Boaden, James, *Memoirs of the Life of John Philip Kemble* (London, 1825)
- Bogdanov, Michael, and Michael Pennington, *English Shakespeare Company* (London: Walker Books, 1990)
- Booth, Michael R., *Victorian Spectacular Theatre 1850 - 1910* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981)
- Booth, Michael R., *Theatre in the Victorian Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991)
- Brauner, Patricia B., ed., *Works of Gioachino Rossini* (Harlow: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 2007)
- Bright, Curtis, 'Branagh and the Prince, or a Royal Fellowship of Death', *Critical Quarterly*, vol. 33 (1991)
- Bristol Mercury*, 'Henry V' (4 September 1891)
- Brodie, Val, *Music in the Performance of Shakespeare, Stratford-upon-Avon 1886-1916* (unpublished master's thesis, Shakespeare Institute, University of Birmingham, 2003)
- Brooks, Janice, *Courtly Song in Late Sixteenth-Century France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000)
- Brophy, John, and Eric Partridge, *The Long Trail: What the British Soldier Sang and Said in 1914-1918* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1965)
- Browne, Ray B., 'Shakespeare in the Nineteenth-Century Songsters', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, vol. 8 (1957), 200-216.
- Burdekin, Russell, 'Sir George Alexander Macfarren, his Life and his Opera', *British Music: The Journal of the British Music Society*, vol. 32 (2010)
- Burden, Michael 'Processing with the dead, and the living: The decline of 18th-century dramatic taste', *Oxford University Research Archive*, Bodleian Library
<<http://ora.ox.ac.uk>> [assessed 10 May, 2013]
- Burney, Charles, *A General History of Music, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period* 4 vols (London: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1776-89)
- Burnim, Kalman A., *David Garrick: Director* (Illinois: Arcturus, 1961)
- Byrd, William, 'All in a Garden Gine' in *My Ladye Nevells Booke of Virginal Music* ed. by Hilda Andrews (London: 1926), reprinted ed. by Blanche Winogron (New

- York: Dover, 1969)
- Calvert, Charles, *Opinions of the Press, Henry the Fifth as Produced under the Direction of Charles Calvert* (Manchester: A. Ireland, 1872)
- Calvert, Charles, *Shakespeare's Historical Play of Henry Fifth 1872, Arranged by C. Calvert, and Produced under His Direction at the Prince's Theatre, Manchester* (Manchester: A. Ireland, 1872)
- Calvert, Mrs Charles, *Sixty-eight Years on the Stage* (London: Mills and Boon, 1911)
- Calvert, Charles, *Manchester Celebrities of Music, Theatre and Performing Arts*
 <<http://www.manchester2002-uk.com/celebs/music-theatre2html>>
 [accessed 12 April 2013]
- Carner, Mosco, *Puccini* (London: Duckworth, 1974)
- Charteris, Richard, *An Annotated Catalogue of the Music Manuscripts in the Folger Library* (New York: Pendragon Press, 2005)
- Cheshire, David F., 'A Chronology of Music Hall', in *Theatre Quarterly*, vol.1 (1971)
- Chappell, William, *Collection of National English Airs* (London: Chappell, 1839)
- Chappell, William, *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, 2 vols (London: Chappell, 1858)
- Christian, John, 'Pre-Raphaelitism in England, 1848-1898' in Stephen Wildman, *Visions of Love and Life* (Virginia: Arts Services International, 1995)
- Cochrane, Claire, *Shakespeare and the Birmingham Repertory Theatre: 1913 - 1929* (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1993)
- Cockett, Stephen, 'Abstract' in online preview 2007 of: Cockett, *Music and the Representation of History in Charles Kean's Revival of Henry V*
 <<http://www.ingentaconnect.com/manup/nttf>> [accessed 28 June 2012]
- Cockett, Stephen, 'Music and the Representation of History in Charles Kean's Revival of Shakespeare's *Henry V*', in *Nineteenth Century Theatre and Film*, 34/1 (2007)
- Cole, John William, *The Life and Theatrical Times of Charles Kean, F.R.S.*, 2 vols (London: Richard Bentley, 1859)
- Coleman, John, *Fifty Years of an Actor's Life* (New York: Potts, 1903)
- Cook, Chris and John Stevenson, *Longman Handbook of Modern British History 1714-1987* (London: Longman, 1993)
- Cook, Dutton, *Nights at the Play* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1883)

- Crosse, Gordon, *Shakespearian Playgoing: 1890 - 1952* (London: Mowbray, 1953)
- Cudworth, Charles, 'Masters of the Musick', *The Musical Times*, vol. 107 (1966), 676-677
- Curtis, A. Price, *Music in Restoration Theatre with a Catalogue of Instrumental Music in the Plays: 1665 - 1713* (Michigan: University of Michigan Research Press, 1979)
- Crystal, David, and Ben Crystal, *Shakespeare's Words: A Glossary and Language Companion* (London: Penguin, 2002)
- Daily Graphic*, 'Tableau of the Battle of Agincourt' (New York, 2 March 1875)
- Daily Mail*, 'Cheers for the King' (23 July 1914)
- Danahay Martin A., and Alexander Chisholm, *Jekyll and Hyde Dramatized: The 1887 Richard Mansfield Script* (North Carolina: McFarland, 2005)
- Darbyshire, Alfred, *The Art of the Victorian Stage* (London: Sherratt and Hughes, 1907)
- Davis, Jim, and Victor Emeljanow, *Reflecting the Audience London Theatregoing: 1840-1880* (London: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2001)
- Davis, Tracy C., *Actressess as Working Women* (London: Routledge, 1991)
- Davis, Tracy C., *Cambridge Companion to Performance Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)
- Davis, Tracy C., *The Economics of the British Stage: 1800-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)
- Davis Tracy C., and Peter Holland, *Performing Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2007)
- Davis, William C., *Battle at Bull Run: A History of the First Major Campaign of the Civil War* (Barton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977)
- Dessen, Alan C., and Leslie Thomson, *Dictionary of Stage Directions in English Drama, 1580- 1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)
- Dobbs, Brian, *Drury Lane Three Centuries of the Theatre Royal: 1663 - 1971* (London: Cassell, 1972)
- Dobson, Michael, and Stanley Wells eds., *Oxford Companion to Shakespeare* (London: Oxford University Press, 2001)
- Dobson, Michael, *The Making of the National Poet* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994)
- Duffin, Ross W., *Shakespeare's Songbook* (New York: Norton, 2004)

- Eby, Cecil D., *The Road to Armageddon: the Martial Spirit in English Popular Literature* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1988)
- Edgar, George, *Martin Harvey: Some Pages of His Life* (London: Grant Richards, 1912)
- Erickson, Peter B, 'The Fault/My Father made: The Anxious Pursuit of Heroic Fame in Shakespeare's *Henry V*', in *Modern Language Studies* 10 (1979)
- Evans, R. J., and Hartmut Pogge von Strandmann, *The Coming of the First World War* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994)
- Fanan, Giorgio, *Drammaturgia Rossiniana: Bibliografia dei Libretti d'Opera* (Rome: Ibbimus, 1997)
- Fellerer, K. G., *Anthology of Music: Collection of Complete Musical Examples Illustrating the History of Music*, 33 vols (Cologne: Arno Volk Hans Grieg, 1962)
- Ferro, Marc, *La Grande Guerre*, trans. by Nicole Stone (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973)
- Fishwick, Lieut.-Col., F.S.A., 'Alfred Darbyshire, The Calvert Revivals' in *Shakespearean Addresses: Delivered at the Manchester Arts Club, 1886-1912* (London: Sherratt and Hughes, 1912)
- Fiske, Roger, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986)
- Fontane, Theodore, *Shakespeare in the London Theatre: 1855-58*, trans. and ed. by Russell Jackson (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1999)
- Forbes, Elizabeth, *Mario and Grisi: A Biography* (London: Victor Gollanz, 1985)
- Forman, Denis, *Good Opera Guide* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1994)
- Foulkes, Richard, *Church and Stage in Victorian England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)
- Foulkes, Richard, ed., *Shakespeare and the Victorian Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986)
- Foulkes, Richard, *Performing Shakespeare in the Age of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)
- Foulkes, Richard, *The Calverts: Actors of Some Importance* (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1992)

- Foulkes, Richard, *Scenes from Provincial Stages* (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1994)
- Franchi, Francesca, ed., *Directory of Performing Arts Resources* (London: Society for Theatre Research and the Theatre Museum, 1998)
- French, David, 'Spy Fever in Britain 1900-1915', *Historical Journal*, vol. 21 (1978)
- Geduld, Harry M., *Film Guide to Henry V* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973)
- Gentleman's Magazine, *History of God Save the King*, vol. 6 (1837)
- Gleason's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion*, 'Interior View of the lecture Room of the American Museum' (22 January 1853)
- Gould, Gerald, 'A New Reading of *Henry V*', in *The English Review*, ed. by Austin Harrison vol. 128 (1919)
- Grove, George, *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians by Eminent Writers, English and Foreign*, 4 vols (London: Macmillan, 1880)
- Gurr, Andrew, *Shakespearian Stage: 1574-1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)
- Hall, Peter, *Making an Exhibition of Myself* (London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1993)
- Hardy, Thomas, *Under the Greenwood Tree* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1994)
- Harman, R, and J. Minnis, *Pevsner City Guides: Sheffield* (London: Yale University Press, 2004)
- Hatchuel, Sarah, *Shakespeare Au Cinema: Esthetique et Interpretation Henry V and Hamlet de Kenneth Branagh*, vol. 2 (Unpublished doctoral dissertation d'Université Paris IV Sorbonne, 2004)
- Hatchuel, Sarah, ed., *Shakespeare: From Stage to Screen* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 2004
- Harvard Glee Club <hgc@hcs.harvard.edu> [accessed 20 March 20011]
- Haywood, Charles, 'William Boyce's 'Solemn Dirge' in Garrick's *Romeo and Juliet* production of 1750', *Shakespeare Quarterly* XI (1960)
- Hazlitt, William, *Characters of Shakespeare's Plays* (London: Oxford University Press, 1949)
- Irving, Henry, *Henry Irving Correspondence*, ref. 2993
<<http://www.Henryirving.co.uk/index.php>> [accessed 12 April, 2013]

- Herbert, Trevor, *The Trombone* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006)
- Herbert, Trevor, *Music in Words: A Guide to Researching and Writing about Music* (London: Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music, 2010)
- Hill, Aaron, *Henry V as it was Acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane* (London: Cornmarket, 1969)
- Hobsbawn, Eric, *The Age of Capital: 1848 – 1875* (London: Abacus, 2000)
- Hobsbawn, Eric, *The Age of Revolution: 1789 – 1848* (London: Abacus, 2000)
- Hodgkinson, J.L., and Rex Pogson, *Early Manchester Theatre*, (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1960)
- Holland, Peter, *Henry V and the Art of War* <<http://www.nationaltheatre.org.uk>>[accessed 2 October, 2009]
- Holman, Peter, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995)
- Hudson, Derek, *Norman O'Neill: A Life in Music* (London: Quality Press, 1945)
- Hughes, Alan, 'The Lyceum Staff: A Victorian Theatrical Organisation' in *Theatre Notebook*, vol. 28 (1974)
- Hughes, Donald, *Sing for Pleasure* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974)
- Humphreys, A. R., *Henry V* (London: Penguin, 1996)
- Hunt, G. W., Lyric: 'We don't want to fight' <<http://dictionary.oed.com/cqi.entry>> [accessed 20 September 2010]
- Irving, Laurence, *Henry Irving: The Actor and his World* (London: Faber and Faber, 1951)
- Jackson, Russell, ed., *Cambridge Guide to Shakespeare on Film* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007)
- Jackson, Russell, ed., *Victorian Theatre* (London: A. & C. Black, 1989)
- Jackson, Russell, and Jonathan Bate, eds., *Shakespeare: An Illustrated History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996)
- Johnson, David, *Shakespeare and South Africa* (London: Clarendon, 1996)
- Joll, James, *Origins of the First World War* (London: Longman, 1992)
- Juslin, Patrik N., and John A. Sloboda, eds., *Handbook of Music and Emotion: Theory, Research, and Applications* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010)

- Kean, Charles, *Henry V* (London: John K. Chapman, 1859)
- Kemp T. C., and J. C. Trewin, *Stratford Festival: A History of the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre* (Birmingham: Cornish Brothers, 1853)
- Kennedy, Michael, and Stewart Craggs, *Music of William Walton* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998)
- Ketterer, Elizabeth, *Govern'd by Stops, Aw'e by Dividing Notes in the Functions of Music in the Extant Repertory of the Admirals's Men 1591-1621* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Birmingham, 2009)
- Keyte, Hugh, 'Royal Weddings 1568/1981', *Early Music*, vol.9 (1981)
- Kingston, Patrick, *Royal Trains* (London: David and Charles, 1981)
- Kivy, Peter, *Music, Language and Cognition* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2007)
- Knight, Joseph, *Theatrical Notes* (London: Lawrence and Bullen, 1893)
- Knowlson, Joyce, *Red Plush and Gilt: The Heyday of Manchester Theatre during the Victorian and Edwardian Periods* (Manchester: no pub., circa 1985)
- Kobbé, Gustav, *The Complete Opera Book*, ed., by the Earl of Harewood (London: Bodley Head, 1992)
- Koller, Ann Mare, *Theatre Duke: George II of Saxe-Meiningen* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980)
- Krasner, David, *Theatre in Theory: 1900-2000* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008)
- Lang, Paul Henry, *Music in Western Civilisation* (London: J. M. Dent, 1963)
- Langhams, Edward A., *Eighteenth Century British and Irish Prompt Books* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987)
- Lennepe William van, and others, *The London Stage: 1660-1800*, 5 vols (Illinois: Southern Illinois Press, 1968)
- Lindley, David, 'Music, Masque and Meaning in *The Tempest*' in David Lindley, ed., *The Court Masque* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984)
- Lindley, David, Lecture: *Music and Performance History; a Neglected Dimension*, Shakespeare Institute, University of Birmingham (4 November 2010)
- Lindley, David, *Shakespeare and Music* (London: Thomson, 2006)

- Lindley, David, ‘‘Sounds and Sweet Airs’’: Music in Shakespearian Performance History’, *Shakespeare Survey*, vol 64 (2011), 59-73
- Lindsay, John S., *The Mormons and the Theatre or the History of Theatricals in Utah 1905* (e book: Mormon Books Project, 2011) <<http://bencrowdes.net/books/mtp> > [accessed: 12 October 2012]
- Loehlin, James N., *Shakespeare in Performance: Henry V* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996)
- Loewenberg, Alfred, *Annals of Opera: 1597-1940* (London: Heffer, 1943)
- Mansfield, Richard, *Richard Mansfield: Acting Version of King Henry V* (New York: Maclure Phillips, 1901)
- Martin-Harvey, Sir John, *Autobiography of Sir John Martin-Harvey* (London: Sampson Low, 1933)
- Mayer, David, *Henry Irving and The Bells* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980)
- Mayer, David, ‘Nineteenth Century Theatre Music’, in *Theatre Notebook*, 30 (1976), 116-118
- Mayer, David, and Matthew Scott, *Four Bars of ‘Agit’: Incidental Music for Victorian and Edwardian Melodrama* (London: Samuel French, 1983)
- Mazer, Cary M., *Shakespeare Refashioned: Elizabethan Plays in Edwardian Stages* (Michigan: Ann Arbor, 1981)
- McVeigh, Steven, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)
- Mellor, Hugh, and Leslie Bridgewater, eds., *John Playford: The English Dancing Master 1651* (London: Dance Books, 1933)
- Mellors, Wilfred, *Vaughan Williams and the Vision of Albion* (London: Basil and Jenkins, 1989)
- Meyer, Leonard B., *Emotion and Meaning in Music* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956)
- Milhaus, Judith, *Thomas Betterton and the Management of Lincoln’s Inn Fields, 1695-1708* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1979)
- Millington, Richard, ed., *The Wagner Compendium: A Guide to Wagner’s Life and Music* (New York: Schirmer, 1992)

- Morley, Henry, *Journal of a London Theatregoer: 1851-66* (London: Routledge, 1891)
- Munrow, David, *Instruments of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976)
- Neighbarger, Randy Lyn, *Music for London Shakespeare Productions, 1660 –1830*, (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Michigan, 1988)
- New York Clipper Annual 'Henry V'* (New York: Frank Queen, 1892)
- New York Times*, 'Richard Mansfield Triumphs as Warlike Harry' (4 October 1900)
- New York Times*, 'Shakespeare's *Henry V*. Theatrical History' (29 September, 1912)
- Nicolas, Harris, *History of the Battle of Agincourt: and the Expedition of Henry the Fifth into France in 1415* (London: Pickering, Saunders and Ottley, 1827), British Library, Harley Roll 782
- Odell, George C. D., *Shakespeare: From Betterton to Irving*, 2 vols (London: Scribner, 1920, repr. Dover, 1966)
- Olivier, Laurence, *Confessions of an Actor* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1982)
- Orrery, The Earl of, *The History of Henry the Fifth* (London: Cornmarket, 1969)
- Osborne, John, *Meiningen Court Theatre: 1866-1890* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988)
- Parsons, Keith, and Pamela Mason, eds., *Shakespeare in Performance* (London: Salamander, 1995)
- Patterson, Annabel, *Shakespeare and the Popular Voice* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989)
- Pepys, Samuel, *Concise Pepys* (Ware: Wordsworth Classics, 1997)
- Phelps, W. May, and John Forbes Robertson, *Life and Lifework of Samuel Phelps* (London: Sampson Low, 1886)
- Punch*, 'A Chronic Complaint' (7 October 1908)
- Poole, Adrian, *Shakespeare and the Victorians* (London: Thomson Publishing, 2003)
- Poole, Adrian and Marshall G, eds., *Victorian Shakespeare: Theatre*, 2 vols (London: Macmillan 2003)
- Postlewait, Thomas, *Cambridge Introduction to Theatre Historiography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009)

- Postlewait, Thomas, and Bruce A. McConachie, *Interpreting the Theatrical Past: Essays in the Historiography of Performance* (Iowa: Iowa City University Press, 1989)
- Powell, Kerry, *Cambridge Companion to Victorian and Edwardian Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)
- Quinn, Michael, ed., *Shakespeare's Henry V: A Play for the Stage* (London: Macmillan, 1969)
- R. N. G.-A, (no name given) *The Book of Martin Harvey* (London: Henry Walker, 1928)
- Rabkin, Norman, 'Either/Or: Responding to *Henry V*' in *Shakespeare and the Problem of Meaning* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1981)
- Radiciotti, Giuseppi, *Gioachino Rossini: Vita, Documentata, Opere ed Influenza su l'Arte* (Tivoli: 1927)
- Richards, Kenneth, and Peter Thomson, eds., *Essays in Nineteenth-century British Theatre* (London: Methuen, 1971)
- Roffe, Alfred, *Handbook of Shakespeare Music* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1878)
- Ropp, Theodore, 'Conscriptions in Great Britain 1900-1914: A Failure in Civil-Military Communications?', in *Military Affairs*, vol. 20 (1956)
- Rosenthal, H, and J. Warrack, *Concise History of Opera* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974)
- Rossi, Gaetano, *Il Giuramento: The Oath* (New York: John Douglas, 1848)
- Rothwell, Kenneth S., and Annabelle Henkin Melven, *Shakespeare on Screen* (London: Manzell, 1990)
- Routley, Erik, *A Short History of English Church Music* (London: Routley and Dakers, 1997)
- Rozmovits, Linda, *Shakespeare and the Politics of Culture in Late Victorian England* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1998)
- Sachs, Curt, *History of Musical Instruments* (New York: Norton, 1940)
- Sadie, Stanley, and Alison Latham, *Cambridge Music Guide* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990)
- Salgado, Gamini, *Eyewitnesses of Shakespeare: First Hand Accounts of Performances 1590- 1890* (Brighton: Sussex University Press, 1975)

- Saunders, Julie, *Shakespeare and Music: Afterlines and Borrowings* (Cambridge: Cambridge Polity Press, 2007)
- Savage, Roger, 'Vaughan Williams, Stratford and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*' in programme *Sir John in Love* (English National Opera, 2006)
- Schnapper, Edith B., *The British Union-Catalogue of Early Music*, 2 vols (London: Butterworth, 1957)
- Schoch, Richard W., *Not Shakespeare: Bardolatry and Burlesque in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)
- Schoch, Richard W., *Shakespeare's Victorian Stage: Performing History in the Theatre of Charles Kean* (Cambridge: 1998)
- Scholes, Percy A., *God Save the Queen* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954)
- Scholes, Percy A., *The Mirror of Music 1844-1944: A Century of Musical Life in Britain as Reflected in the Pages of the Musical Times*, 2 vols (London: Novello, 1947)
- Shakespeare, William, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, ed. by Peter Holland (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998)
- Shakespeare, William, *Henry V*, ed. by A. R. Humphreys (London: Penguin, 1996)
- Shakespeare, William, *Henry V*, ed. by Gary Taylor (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998)
- Shakespeare, William, *King Henry V*, ed. by Andrew Gurr (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)
- Shakespeare, William, *King Henry V*, ed. by T. W. Craik (London: Thomson, 2005)
- Shakespeare, William, *King Richard II*, ed. by Andrew Gurr (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996)
- Shakespeare, William, *Macbeth*, ed. by Kenneth Muir (London: Thomson, 2002)
- Shakespeare, William, *Othello*, ed. by Norman Sanders (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)
- Shakespeare, William, *Romeo and Juliet*, ed. by Jill L. Levenson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000)
- Shakespeare, William, *The First Folio of Shakespeare based on the Folios in the Folger Shakespeare Library Collection* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1996)

- Shakespeare, William, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, ed. by Georgio Melchiori (London: Thomson, 2000)
- Shakespeare, William, *The Tempest*, ed. by David Lindley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012)
- Shattuck, Charles H., *Shakespeare Promptbooks: a Descriptive Catalogue* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1965)
- Shaw, George Bernard, *Music in London*, 3 vols (London: Constable, 1932)
- Silvira, Dale, *Lawrence Olivier and the Art of Film Making* (Rutherford 1985)
- Simpson, Claude M., *British Broadside Ballad and its Music* (New York: Rutgers University Press, 1966)
- Smith, Emma, *Shakespeare in Production: Henry V* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)
- Spiers, Edward, *Haldane: An Army Reformer* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1980)
- Sprague, Arthur Colby, *Shakespeare's Histories* (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1964)
- Steiner, Zara S., *Britain and the Origins of the First World War* (London: Macmillan, 1977)
- Sternfeld, F. W., *Music in Shakespearean Tragedy* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963)
- Stevens, John, and William F. Prizer, 'Lauda Spirituale' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, 20 vols (London: Macmillan, 1980), VII
- Stratford upon Avon Herald, Henry V* (5 May 1911)
- Stratford upon Avon Herald, Henry V* (28 July 1911)
- Struber, Petra, and Ulrich Beck, eds., *Theater und 19 Jahrhundert* (Hildesheim: Georg Olm Verlag, 2009)
- Sturgess, Kim C., *Shakespeare and the American Nation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2004)
- Taylor, Gary, *Reinventing Shakespeare* (London: Vintage, 1990)
- Terry, Ellen, *The Story of My Life* (London: Hutchinson, 1908)

- Theatre Museum, *Prompt Books and Actors' Copies* (London: Ormonde Publishing, 1983)
- Thornton Burnett, Mark, Adrian Streete and Ramona Wray, eds., *Edinburgh Companion to Shakespeare and the Arts* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011)
- Times*, obituary 'Mrs Charles Kean' (21 August 1880)
- Tovey, Sir Donald Francis, *Essays in Musical Analysis* (Oxford: Oxford Paperbacks, 1981)
- Trewin, J. C., *Benson and the Bensonians* (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1960)
- Trewin, J. C., *Edwardian Theatre* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1976)
- Trewin, J. C., *Shakespeare on the English Stage 1900 - 1964* (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1964)
- Trussler, Simon, 'A Chronology of Early Melodrama' in *Theatre Quarterly*, vol.1 (1971)
- Vaughan Williams, Ralph, *National Music and Other Essays* (Oxford: Oxford Paperbacks, 1964)
- Vaughan Williams, Ralph, Preface to *The English Hymnal* (London: Oxford University Press, 1906, reprinted 1933)
- Vaughan Williams, Ursula, R. V. W. *A Biography of Vaughan Williams* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964)
- Walbrook, H. M., *Nights at the Play* (London: Harry-Smith, 1911)
- Walton, Susanna, *William Walton: Behind the Facade* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988)
- Warrack John, and Ewan West, *Oxford Dictionary of Opera* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992)
- Weber, William, 'Artisans in Concert Life in Mid-Nineteenth-Century London and Paris' in *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 13 (1978), 253-67
- Weber, William, *Music and the Middle Class* (London: Croom and Helm, 1975)
- Wells, Stanley, 'Television Shakespeare', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 33 (1982)
- Wells, Stanley, and Sarah Stanton, eds., *Cambridge Guide to Shakespeare on Stage* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1902)
- Westerman, Gerhart von, *Opera Guide*, ed. by Harold Rosenthal (London: Thames and Hudson, 1970)

- Wilson, Christopher, *Shakespeare and Music* (London: The Stage, 1922)
- Wilson, M. Glen, *Charles Kean and the Victorian Press* (Toronto: Research Society for Victorian Periodicals, 1975)
- Wilson, M. Glen, 'Edward Saker's Revivals and Charles Kean: An addendum', in *Theatre Notebook*, 34 (1979), 18-21
- Wilstach, Paul, *Richard Mansfield: The Man and the Actor* (New York: Chapman Hall, 1908)
- Winter, William, *Life and Art of Richard Mansfield with Selections from his Letters*, 2 vols (New York: Moffat, 1910)
- Witkin, Robert, *The Intelligence of Feeling* (London: Heineman Educational, 1974)
- Wood, Henry Joseph, *My Life in Music* (London: Gollancz, 1938)
- Worthen, W.B., and Peter Holland, *Theorizing Practice: Redefining Theatre History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003)
- Worthen, W.B., *Shakespeare and the Force of Modern Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)

Secondary material: Other music

- Anon, *Alta Trinta Beata*, La Trobe University, Medieval Music Database,
<<http://www.lib.latrobe.rdu.au/MMMDB/Anon/H001L031>> [accessed 23 May 2010]
- Benson, Frank, (various composers and adaptors) *A Midsummer Night's Dream, Richard II, Merry Wives of Windsor, The Tempest*, Benson Archive, Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive
- Bizet, Georges, *Carmen* (Paris: Choudens, 1877)
- Donizetti, Gaetano, *Parisina*, (Milan: Ricordi, 1833)
- Donizetti, Gaetano, *Parisina: Melo-dramma di Felice arranged by E.F.Rimbault* (Milan: Ricordi, 1860)
- Eccles, John, *A Swain Long Slighted and Disdain'd. A Song Sung by Mr Knapp in the Tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark* (London: T. Cross, 1700)
- Eccles, John, *Fill all the Glasses by Mr H. Purcell or Rather by John Eccles* (1740)
- Eccles, John, *Fill all your Glasses, in a Play called Henry the Fifth*, [by] J[oh]n Eccles

- (London: Richard Willoughby, n.d. circa 1740)
- Eccles, John, (attributed) *Love and Wine* (London: R. Falkener, 1770)
- Gounod, Charles, *Faust* (Berlin: Bote and Bock, 1869)
- Hatton, John Liptrot, *Henry VIII*, (1853) W.b.567, Folger Shakespeare Library
- Hatton, John Liptrot, *Overture and Music Incidental to Shakepere's [sic] Play of Henry VIII* (London: Campbell and Ransford, circa 1855)
- Mascagni, Pietro, *Cavalleria Rusticana* (Berlin: Bote and Bock, circa 1920)
- Mendelssohn, Felix, *Incidental Music to A Midsummer Night's Dream, op.61* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1874-77)
- Mercadante, Saverio, *Il Giuramento*, vocal score (Milan: Ricordi, 1841)
- Mercadante, Saverio, *Mercadante's Celebrated Opera Il Giuramento arranged for the pianoforte by E.F.Rimbault* (Milan: Ricordi, 1859)
- MacFarren, George, Glee 'Who is Sylvia', in *Novello Part-Song Book* (London: Novello, circa 1944)
- Peterschen, Frank W., multiple songs and arrangements including *The Wood Bird* (New York: C. Bunce, 1872) and *Bessie Barker* (New York: Oliver Ditson, 1867), Robert Butler Cushman Collection, Washington State University
- Puccini, Giacomo, *La Bohème* (Turin: Ricordi, 1920)
- Purcell, Henry, *The Fairy Queen* (London: Jacob To[n]son, 1692), New ed. by Bruce Wood and Andrew Pinnock, Purcell Society Catalogue Z.629 (London: Stainer and Bell, 2009)
- Rossini, Gioacchino, *Tancredi* (Leipzig: n.pub, 1817)
- Rossini, Gioacchino, *Tancredi: Rossini's Opera Arranged for Piano by A. Devaux* (Milan: Ricordi, 1864)
- Sibelius, Jean, *Incidental Music to The Tempest, op. 109* (Copenhagen: Wilhelm Hansen, 1929)
- Strauss, Richard, *Der Rosenkavalier* (Berlin: Adolphe Furstner, 1910)
- Sullivan, Sir Arthur, *Incidental Music to The Tempest* (London: Chappell, 1891)
- Taubert, Wilhelm, *Orchestral Score: Der Sturm* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1855)
- Vallet, Nicolas, 'Onder de Linde-groene' in *Tablature de Luth* (Amsterdam: 1618)

- Verdi, Giuseppe, *Aida* (Milan: Ricordi, 1871)
- Verdi, Giuseppe, *La Traviata* (Milan: Ricordi, 1853)
- Verdi, Giuseppe, *Macbeth*, (Milan: Ricordi, 1865)
- Verdi, Giuseppe, *Nabucco* (Milan: Ricordi, 1842)
- Verdi, Giuseppe, *Verdi's Opera Macbeth, Arranged for the Pianoforte by E. F. Rimbault* (Milan: Ricordi, 1860)
- Vivaldi, Antonio, *Concerto for Violin, Strings and Basso Continuo in E major, La Primavera* (Mainz and London: Eulenburg, 1982)
- Vogel, Harald, and Pieter Dirksen, ed., *Sweelinck Complete Keyboard Works*, 4 vols (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2004)
- Wagner, Richard, *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* (Leipzig: Eulenburg, 1870)
- Wagner, Richard, *Lohengrin* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1881)
- Witt, Max S., Over one hundred marches, dances and songs in British Library: H.3981-H3992

Secondary material: Films listed by composer

- Doyle, Patrick, *Henry V*, dir. by Kenneth Branagh, Renaissance (1989)
- Rossini, Gioacchino, (and others), *The Lone Ranger*, dir. by Stuart Heisler, Warner (1956)
- Walton, William, *Henry V*, dir. by Laurence Olivier, Rank Film (1945)